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Chapter XI

What Role Do the Piaches Play?

800 91. The old and traditional. 92. Initiation of the piache. 93. The piache's equipment. 94. Illusiogenic substances. 95. Sessions of piachería. 96. Honorariums, diet, not ventriloquism. 97. The other curers. 98. Legendary piaches. 99. Imagination once more. 100. The piaches and our religion. 101. Not worshipers of the devil.

756 91. This question, which was asked me by one of my former mission companions, fits here like a ring on the finger; since, having dealt in the previous chapter with the Indians' illnesses, it is logical to speak now about their curers. Aside from the new ideas that we can get about the piaches, the fact that they are curers is extremely fundamental and real.

[193] Piache is said in the Pemón language pia-san, which is the plural of piai and piachí and from which with a slight variation comes our Castillian word. Literally it means predecessors, ancestors, the trunks or bases of the human

[192] genealogical /42/ tree. The word, thus, has a connotative flavor of something old and connected with the traditional.

[173] And, in effect, the piaches are the sustainers or maintainers of the small native oral tradition and are its most zealous guardians and those who admonish and frighten them against the innovations or the scorn of the younger generation in matters of beliefs and customs.

92. The piache, in order to be recognized as such, must submit to an initiation. This consists of long fasts and large

[824] potions of tisanes, made of the macerated bark of special trees such as the ayú, the pirkavá, and leaves of kumeré and kavai

[273] (tobacco), etc. The drink is given them by the teacher or instructor in such a quantity that it is not lethal to them. These dosages produce in them great intestinal disturbances

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and vomiting and even fainting and paroxysms. It is exactly during one of these that the initiator must furtively deposit various small stones of more or less crystallized form among the vomit. These stones will henceforth be his iai or yachí (from which it is also possible that the name of the piaches may have been derived), a sort of amulet, in which are supposed to dwell hidden protective spirits, which will help them at dangerous or difficult times and in the solemn moments of tumayá or piachería.

In addition to beverages, some of them are treated by introducing through the nose and removing through the mouth strings impregnated with vegetable substances, to which they attribute magic properties or mysterious forces; they even go so far as to pass sharp grasses through (with the inevitable bleeding) for the purpose of obtaining a resonant and powerful voice. The piache must have a good voice, know the usual songs, and be able to assume different voices; this will be easier for him if he knows several languages, even though only a few words or phrases in them.

93. The piache's equipment consists of: the murei, or little bench with a figure, generally of a monkey, on which he sits to sing; the afore-mentioned yachí, or little stones; the kachiuotó, or special little bed for ingesting through the nose the juice of kumeré or tobacco leaves; the pipe, or tamuiyén, since they also make use of tobacco smoking, and finally, bundles of leaves of ayú or pirkavá instead of the maraca in general use in other tribes, which they employ to accompany the singing and to create various illusions.

94. The piache goes into a trance by ingesting through the nasal passages the above-mentioned beverages; he always works at night and in complete darkness and in a completely closed in place. Piaches make believe that their soul goes away from them and that with the magical force /43/ of the beverages, the tobacco smoke, and the noise of the leaves, it opens the doors of the hills where the maurí live, enters into

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787 f) The plant called puuá is a good omen and they say of
[824] it that it chases hunger away from their homes.

The interpretation of dreams, as we have already said when dealing with magic, was so done by analogy, and thus the Indians say that:

a) To dream that we are looking in a mirror is a warning that we shall encounter the gleaming eyes of a tiger.

[226] b) To dream that we are poisoning fish with verbasco
[824] /great mullein/ while standing in the water is a sign that we are going to catch cold.

c) To dream that we see an Indian dragging a palm tree is a warning that we shall meet a palm bear /oso palmero/ with a long tail.

d) To dream that one has a parrot or other domestic bird on one's arm is a sign to women that a son will come to them, whom they will caress.

e) To dream that we see hills in the distance is a notice that we shall meet Indians carrying great loads on their backs in their guayares.

787 In the interpretation of omens and fantasies there pre-
789 dominates the magic principle, "that which is similar is produced by that which is similar and disguises itself in that which is similar."

But in addition to this, accidental coincidences and a succession of linkings in time or space have no doubt been able to engender in the human spirit the false idea of inclusion and casuality, following the well-known paralogism: "Post hoc, ergo propter hoc." So that causality is frequently confused with casuality (grammatically and philosophically) and coincidence with joint cause.

787 I have often heard the Indians arguing among themselves about these same matters, dividing themselves among those who tenaciously believe in dreams and omens and those who doubt them and do not see in them anything other than fortuitous

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This dye is made from the pulp around the seeds in the fleshy fruits of Genipa americana, planted near houses for that purpose. The Arawak name is karuto (and variants), whence comes the Venezuelan Spanish "caruto." The resemblance of the Kamarakoto word and its difference from those in other Carib dialects suggest that it may have been borrowed from some Arawak tribe, perhaps from the Guinaus, with whom the Kamarakotos have probably had some contact and who call this plant galu:tu (Koch-Grünberg; = karu:tu in Kamarakoto phonetics).

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181. rana. Taurepán rana. Makuchi (Williams) rana. A less-used wild variety of Genipa americana.

Red —

182. anonda. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) anonte, anunte. Makuchi (Williams) ru-ku, a-nun-te. Galibi (Adam) anoto. Cariniaco (Adam) anoto. This is the famous and widely used dye made from the seeds of the shrub Bixa orellana. It is cultivated for this purpose all over Venezuela and called "onoto," from the Carib word. In England it is called "arnatto" — also an attempt at the Carib word. It is curious that in British Guiana ruku, which generally means the very different Genipa dye, is applied to this dye.

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183. karaberõ. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kurauili (perhaps kurawiri). Makuchi (Appun)[52] karaweru. This is a purplish-red dye made from leaves of the liana Bignonia chica.

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[439] 184. kurawõri. This dye is not made by the Kamarakotos but is obtained from the Maiongones (Maquiritares) by trading and I did not learn how they make it. The Kamarakotos distinguish this word from their karaberõ, but it seems probable that it is merely a dialect (presumably Maquiritare) form of the same Carib word.

[302] 185. White — tauwa. Makuchi (Williams) ta-wa. This is a fine, white clay used as body paint.

*192 f. Thread, fiber, etc.
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186. String, line (as for fishing) — yeba. See No. 103.

187. Cotton thread, spun cotton in general (including store- or trade-thread) asei.a.

*[192] 188. "Fine native cotton thread — asei.a-inimu'. Makuchi (Williams) e-ni-mo, "ball of finely spun cotton."

52 [see footnote on p. 312, category 116 - Analyst]

189. *Split reeds for basketry (the commonest sort, in local Spanish "tirita") — manare. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) manaːle (= manaːre). Makuchi (Williams) ma-na-ri, "cassava sifter" (called pangaiˀ in Kamarakoto and pangaˀ in Taurepán); ma-na "reed used for basket work." In Makuchi (and many other Carib dialects) the form with -ri or -re designates a particular one of the many sorts of basketry made from these reeds and the word has been taken over into Venezuelan Spanish, "manare," with this meaning. In Kamarakoto and Taurepán, however, the word in this form means the reed itself, never one of the things made from it, which all have quite different names. This reed is a (or some) species of Ischnosiphon.

190. *Split vine for basketry (less often used, in local Spanish "camuare") — wadapi. Makuchi (Williams) wa-tha-be (th as in English "thin"). "liana....used for winding round rolls of tobacco." This is actually a palm, Desmoncus sp.

191. *A strong fiber (in local Spanish "curagua") — kurawaiˀ. Makuchi (Williams) ka-rau-ya. These fibers are obtained from the leaves of species of Bromelia and are widely used in Venezuela where the Spanish name is derived from the Carib word.

192. Round, tough vine (in local Spanish, "bejuco de alambrito," i.e. "wire-vine") — tsimoˀ. Compare tsimuiˀ, No. 99, a basket made of this fiber.

193. Palm-fiber (from the moriche palm) — kutsaˀ -epichaˀ. (Palm leaves, as opposed to fiber, are also used to make baskets but are called simply "moriche leaves," etc.; see "Plants.")

g. Furniture, utensils, etc.

194. *Hammock — kami (but ukaimi, "my hammock"). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kami (but u-kaːlimi, "my hammock").

195. Hanger for hammock ("colgadero") — etseba.

196. *Bench — aponoiˀ. Taurepán, apono, ponoˀ.[53] Makuchi (Williams) a-po-no. Krishana (Adam) (i-)apon. Galibi (Adam) abo.

197. Hanging cradle — pakaːri.

198. Spindle — kateuwai-yeupu (literally "cotton-bone").

199. Nail, hooked on end for crocheting — peoi-gatsaˀ. gatsaˀ probably means "bent" or "twisted" and peoi is "nail." In most Carib dialects "nail" is called by some variant or reduced form of putuputuri which also occurs in Arawak (See de Goeje No. 67), but note Purukotó (de Goeje) puia.

[see footnote on p 312, category 116 - Analyst]

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awa:kepalu, "Morpho." Makuchi (Williams) pa-pi-ai, (Hübner in Koch-Grünberg) wakan. Crichana (de Goeje) wakaparo. Koch-Grünberg suggests for awa:kepalu (= aba:keparu, cf. Kamarakoto abakaparu) derivation from awa-, "to row (paddle)" and -paru, "river." This seems farfetched, to say the least. Abaka-, wakau, awa:ke-, wakan, waka-, etc., seem all to be forms of a single Carib root for "butterfly," combined with -paru, -palu, paro, and other suffixes in various dialects.

373. *Bee — tautsán-yun. Taurepán, wan-yun. Makuchi (Williams) wan-yun-gon. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) te(u)tsan (same word as for "honey"). Oyana (de Goeje) tuwashinem. Both tautsan-yun and wan-yun mean "honey's father." In many dialects the same word is used for "bee" as for "honey." The usual Carib root is wan and aside from Kamarakoto I find cognates of tautsan only in Ingarikó and, doubtfully, Oyana.

374. *Honey — tautsan-yeuku, (literally "honey-juice"). Taurepán, wan. Makuchi (Williams) wan. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) te(u)tsan. See remarks on preceding word.

375. Beeswax — moromba.

376. Tick — karimatɛ?.

377. Tick, another kind — kananapan.

378. Chigger, "chivacca" — timi?.

379. *Spider — arai. Taurepán, arai.

Plants.

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a. Cultivated (or planted).

380. *Garden patch, "conuco" — (u)ma. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) mə:. Makuchi (Williams) mə. Akawai (de Goeje) (oo)ma. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) (u)mə.

381. Garden produce, fruits and vegetables — yapaino.

382. *Cassava (the plant, manioc = Manihot sp., yuca in local Spanish) — Kösɛra. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kese (= kɛsɛ, see next word). Makuchi (Williams) kə-se-ra.

383. *Cassava root (the edible tuber) — kösɛ. Taurepán, kɛsɛ (same word as for the plant). Makuchi (Williams) kə-se.

384. Ocumo (local Spanish name; = Xanthosoma sagittifolium) — naipai.

385. *Yam (Dioscorea sp.) — piricha. Taurepán, kəlücha, (Koch-Grünberg) pilizha. Makuchi (Williams) ge-ri-cha. These are all variants of the same word. They show (besides

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the universal equivalence of R and L) the shift of initial P to K or G, also seen in some other words of these dialects. This is perhaps the plant called "ñame" in the Spanish of Venezuela, but there are several other edible species of Dioscorea besides this and the next.

386. *Yam, another species (probably Dioscorea triphylla) — napwei. Taurepán, napui. This is the root-plant called "mapuey" in Venezuelan Spanish, a word evidently cognate with napwei. It is probably a native plant and the Kamarakotos may well have received the word direct from other Indian dialects and not through Spanish. 79

387. Another root -plant, not seen, (probably another sort of Dioscorea) — puwa.

388. Sweet potato, Spanish "batata" (= Ipomea batata) — (i)cha'. (The true potato is not known here.) (See footnote 79.)

389. *Squash (and various allies, Cucurbita spp.) — auyama. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaudama (for kauyama, very soft d). Makuchi (Williams) kau-ya-ma. Yauarana (Koch-Grünberg) kayama. Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) kauyama. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) hauyama. See remarks on next word.

390. *Black beans — kumata. Makuchi (Williams) ku-ma-sa. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) kuma:za.

Some of the Kamarakotos assured me that both squash and black beans were relatively recent introductions among them. This is possible, but both are native plants and the Kamarakoto words are good Carib. It is possible for squash (but not beans) that they have acquired the Carib word from Venezuelan Spanish, in which it is universally used ("auyama"), and if so, this would be a remarkable example of a tribe acquiring a word of its own ancestral language by way of a foreign language. It is far more likely, however, either that the plants, however little used, and their names have been continuously familiar to some Kamarakotos, or that both plants and names recently came from an allied Carib group.

391. *Pineapple — kaibara'. Taurepán, kaiwara'. Makuchi (Williams) kai-wa-ra. This illustrates the common open b = w equation.

392. Peanut — aneu'.

393. *Sugar cane — kaña. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaperon, kapɛlon. Makuchi (Williams) kai-wa-ra-kui-ma. Sugar cane is a relatively recent introduction in this region and the three words cited interestingly show processes of acquiring names for such new things. The Kamarakoto word is, of course, simply the Spanish "caña," with a shift in accent.

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79 [see footnote on pp. 815-16, category 116 — Analyst].

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simply the Spanish "caña," with a shift in accent. I believe the Taurepán word to be the local Spanish "papelón" (the equation initial P = K is normal although only occasional in these dialects), which is the word applied to conical loaves of crude sugar, so that the Indians have applied the name of one of its manufactured products to the plant. The Makuchi word, as Williams points out, is derived from the Indian word kaiwara, "pineapple," so that these Indians have derived a name for the imported sweet plant from that of their only native cultivated sweet plant. (The Adzaneni word, ma:pa = "honey, sugar cane," Koch-Grünberg, illustrates the same sort of extension.) It is further interesting that the Schirianas and Auakés, with languages quite unrelated to these, have also incorporated the Carib and to them foreign word for "pineapple" in the name for "sugar cane"; Auaké (Koch-Grünberg) kaiualakotsa (= kaiwara-kotsa) — in this language the word for "pineapple" is painoli, (Koch-Grünberg). Like the Kamarakotos they have adopted a foreign name for the foreign plant, but their name, like the plant, came to them from the Caribs while the Kamarakotos received name and plant from Spanish-speaking people.

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394. *Banana: most general word and common variety — mekuru. Taurepán, erupa (this variety?), but the word mekuru is also recognized. Makuchi (Williams) manekuma (this variety?).

395. *Large variety — sigerende. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) ekelinte seems to be a cognate word.

396. *Medium-sized ("pipiyare" in local Spanish) — mari-paima. Taurepán maripaime.

397. *Small variety ("Santo Domingo" in local Spanish) — yumari. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) yuma:li (= yuma:ri).

398. Another, similar, small variety — katapan.

399. *Red Variety — uradanda. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) uladanda. Makuchi (Williams) urathauta (not specified as red; possibly a misprint for urathanta?). The other words given by Williams as Makuchi for varieties of bananas do not appear to be cognate with the Taurepán or Kamarakoto words.

400. *Plaintain: common variety — kura:tana. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kura:tana. Purukotó (Koch-Grünberg) kura:tana (defined as "banana" but doubtless the plantain). Wayumará (Koch-Grünberg) kuratana (defined as "banana"

*197 ●824 241

but doubtless the plantain). I believe this to be the Spanish word "plátano." The equation pl- = kur- is not unlikely in these dialects and the long a in the antepenult suggests some peculiar history such as derivation from a word with an accent on that syllable.

401. *Another variety ("plátano altón" in local Spanish) — paruru. Taurepán, paruru. This word appears with some variations in practically all Carib dialects and in most vocabularies it is defined simply as "banana." It has become one of the most widespread of native names for the banana, although the Kamarakotos explicitly confine it to one sort, not the most common, of plantain. The probable history of the word (drawing heavily on Nordenskiöld, 1922, and other authorities) is that it is an old Carib root for the inedible native "wild banana," Heliconia ("bijao" in local Spanish) that was spontaneously applied to the similar introduced Musa, with varying exact application among the various different sorts of Musa.

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So few students have recorded variety names for these fruits that it is futile to attempt to trace the relationship of these. It is curious that no Indians appear to use any word related to the colloquial Venezuelan "cambur."

824 241 402. Papaya, = Carica papaya — mapada.

403. Watermelon — patiya. This is of very recent introduction and the name is the Venezuelan Spanish "patilla." This word is, indeed, supposed to be of Carib derivation (which is strange since the plant is African) but it apparently reached the Kamarakotos through Spanish and not direct from its Carib cognates.

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404. Bright yellow, somewhat tomato-like fruit — pupu.

405. Corn (maize) — anai?.

406. Chile pepper, (= Capsicum sp.): Small, elongate, red variety — polopakai?

407. Small, yellow variety — adamaka:yena

408. Large, round, red variety — paradan

409. Very small, round, red variety — pariyana

410. Ovate, red variety — churu

411. Round, yellow variety — kurapupai?

*197 ●P24 241 [114]

Names given by Koch-Grünberg for peppers in Taurepán do not appear to be cognate with these, nor do any of the words given in the comparative vocabularies of Adam or de Goeje.

412. *Tobacco — tamõi. See after next word.

413. *An infusion of tobacco used by piaches — kabai.

Both tamõi and kabai are Carib roots, with curious and interesting changes of meaning in Kamarakoto as compared with other dialects.

tamõi — Kamarakoto "tobacco (plant and leaf)." Taurepán, tamõyen, "tobacco pipe" (for Kamarakoto see No. 202). Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) tam-yen, "tobacco pipe." Makuchi — no cognate word recorded; "tobacco pipe" is paipa, from English or Dutch.

kabai — Kamarakoto "tobacco infusion." Taurepán kawai "tobacco." Ingarikó (Koch-Grünberg) kawai, "tobacco." Makuchi (Williams) kawai "tobacco."

414. Cotton — kateuwe.

[224] 415. Magical plant — kumi. This plant is rubbed on cuts to ensure success in hunting. Koch-Grünberg cites a kumi:ˀ among the Taurepánes, also a magical plant, but he calls it a kind of grass, which the Kamarakoto plant is not, and says that it is used against bellyache.

("Caruto," No. 180, is also planted.)

P24 b. Wild.

416. Tree, plant in general —yɛˀ (in compounds generally somewhat sibilant or occasionally a soft d or d-mouillé, nearly dy). [193] Tree names usually have -yɛˀ as a suffix. Without this suffix the name usually means the fruit or some product of the tree in question.

417. Leaf — yarɛ (y usually markedly sibilant).

418. Root — moiˀ.

419. Palms: Moriche = Mauritia flexuosa — kwai-yɛˀ, gwai-yɛˀ.

420. Corozo, perhaps = Elais sp. ? — mausa-yɛˀ.

421. Spiny corozo, Tucuma, ("corozo de monte," "palo de espinas," = Astrocaryum tucuma (?) — awara-yɛˀ.

422. Cucurito, maripa, inaya, = Maximiliana maripa — maripada-yɛˀ.

423. Cucurito (variety with larger leaves) = Maximiliana regia (?) — abaˀ-yɛˀ.

424. Seje = Oenocarpus sp. — kunwada.

425. Cane ("Cana brava"), perhaps Gynerium sp. — purau-yɛˀ (i.e. "arrow-plant," the stalks being used for arrows).

● 824 426. Araguaney. – Tecoma sp. — ura:padɛ' (for ura:pa-yɛ', "bow-wood," the wood being used for bows).

427. Ceibo ("kapok tree"). = perhaps Ceiba sp., but other genera yield a similar fiber — asare-yɛ'.

428. Canjilón — pori:tadɛ' (for pori:ta-yɛ').

429. Peraman. Symphonia sp., a latex-yielding tree — ponoi' (-yɛ').

430. Balatá (the tree) = Mimusops sp. — purwe-yɛ'.

431. Balatá (the gum) —purwe-yeuku (i.e. "balatá juice") or koma (Spanish word, "goma").

432. Purguo = Mimusops sp. — purweidyɛ' (for purwei-yɛ' cf. purwe-yɛ', above). My informant believed this to be distinct from the (in any case clearly allied) purwe-yɛ', but I suspect that the words are the same and that all balatá-yielding trees are so-called. "Purguo" is from the Carib word.

433. Carrizo — lue-yɛ' (i.e. "flute-wood").

* [197] 434. *Bamboo: large species — waronga-yɛ'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) oronga.

435. *Small species — kas -yɛ'. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kaɛdɛ, kaikara.

436. Yara-yara — tsimarandyɛ' (for tsimaran-yɛ').

437. Cedro[80] — kopei-dyɛ' (for kopei-yɛ').

438. Arbol de la vaca ("Cowe-tree") — yumadyɛ' (for yuma-yɛ').

439. Sasafrás = Acroclidium or Nectandra sp. — waidawau-urai-yɛ', waidawaurai-yɛ'.

440. Tree (not identified) with very hard, dark wood — ayu-yɛ'.

441. Tree (not identified) with soft, white wood — paunɛdɛ' (for paune-yɛ').

442. Wood used to make blow guns: inner tube — sanwoto.

443. outer tube — yurwa.

* [197] 444. Grass — wana'. Taurepán, wana'.

445. Unidentified plant — murun-yɛ'. The wood is used for the foreshaft of arrows.

824 262 Mushroom. There is no general word for "mushroom" or "fungus" but the following are names of edible fungi: -

446. ɛnura.

447. kara-kara.

448. kwarampana (i.e., "sloth ear," from its form).

449. akuripana (i.e., "acure ear," from its form).

Wild fruits. The following (with the kwai, "moriche fruit," already listed above) are the principal edible wild fruits:-

450. algarrobo, possibly Hymenaea sp. — wadɛ.

Guamo = fruits of Inga spp.

80 [see footnote on p. 316, category 116 = Analysis]

451. Green-shelled, forest form — warwoto.
452. Yellow-shelled, stream-bank form — abira.
453. Very long, green variety — maipa.
454. Maripa (Maximiliana) fruit — aba'.
455. Small, round, yellow fruit, not identified — madɛ.

(Numbers 180, 181, 182, 183, 189, 190, 191, and 192 are also plants, listed elsewhere in connection with their uses.)

Nature. Time.

456. *Sun — be. Taurepán, wüi, wei.
457. *Moon — Kapui. Taurepán, Kapui.
458. Dawn — auyukana.
459. Day — bene (from be, "sun," but be above is apparently used also to mean "day" and the word bene, produced out of context and after long cogitation by my informant, is doubtful, it may mean "during the day").
460. *Night — warbə. Taurepán, wargə. (Koch-Grünberg) wa:lupə.
461. *Cloud — katuri'. Taurepán, katu'ru'.
462. *Shy — ka'. Taurepán, ka'.
463. *Wind — iroma. Taurepán, iroma.
464. *Rain — kono'. Taurepán, kono'.
465. Earth, clay, mud — non.
466. *Precious metal, silver (or sometimes gold) — pun. I could not distinguish this word phonetically from that for "meat," nor do I find it in allied dialects practically all of which use the Spanish "plata."
467. *Gold — oro, woro'. This is the Spanish "oro," of which woro' appears to be only a particularly "Kamarakotized" pronunciation. There is a Carib root for "gold," cf. Makuchi (Williams) karu-kari, but my Kamarakoto informants always used the Spanish word.
468. *Dry season — tolongan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wei-yayenesa' (wei = "sun"). See next word.
469. *Rainy season — ipukupə. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kono-yayenesa' (kono' = "rain"). I have been unable to find any sure cognates of the Kamarakoto words for the seasons or to trace their derivation. This one appears to be a verbal form.
470. *Today — tsiredau. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) seleuale.
471. *Yesterday — koɛmiyau. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) koomɛya'.
472. *Tomorrow — penane. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) penane.

almost invariably contains the cane press and frequently also serves for the preparation of casave and for cooking, although both these may also be done in the dwelling. Frequently hammocks are hung here for resting on hot days or for visitors,[105] although the family sleeps in the closed dwelling. It is often assumed that structures of this sort are essentially non-Carib simply because they are square, but this conclusion seems to me also to be ill-supported, if not absolutely false. A square dwelling is not typically Carib, but a square shelter is. The simplest type of shelter thrown up quickly against sun or rain, by hunters, for instance, is invariably square and the square work-house is simply a more permanent form of such a shelter. In any event, such work-houses are typically Kamarakoto now and are made by other tribes with still less European influence. These structures are called wata, or, if the absence of walls needs to be specified, wata-imedapun.

The Kamarakotos also build rectangular houses with walls, wata-timeakan, and these really are, I believe, a recent development showing some non-Carib influence. Even the name ordinarily applied to them, kalaboːso, = "calabozo," is foreign. They have one door and are almost hermetically sealed with mud, including a horizontal mud ceiling below the ridged roof (see Figure 10). Unless needed to accommodate visitors, they are used only in the rainy season when insects are very bad, when the family retires to the structure at night and seals itself in, emerging almost asphyxiated the next day, a custom that doubtless contributes to the prevalence of respiratory diseases.

Construction and Materials.

The framework of any building is made of unsquared timbers of any size. Any sort of strong wood is used for this, "purguo," purwei-dyeˀ being preferred for the heavier beams. Uprights are sunk in holes in the ground and the rest of the frame is fastened together and to these by lashing with lianas. Occasionally a fork is used or a notch cut, but usually the poles are round and simple. Details of typical construction of this sort are shown in the accompanying illustrations of a wata-imedapun, work-house, (Figs. 2-5),[2] and of a parapan, dwelling, (Figs. 6-8).[2]

Roofs are heavily thatched with palm leaves, kunwada-yare, Oenocarpus leaves, being preferred, maripada-yare, Maximiliana leaves, also common, and gwaiyare, Mauritia leaves, occasionally used.[106] The walls are often thatched also, usually with maripada-yare. The walls of a "calabozo" are always and those of a parapan are occasionally made of withes and mud, a type of construction common in Venezuela and called "bahareque" in colloquial Venezuelan Spanish, (the Kamarakotos call it simply non, "mud"). This type of construction is probably less common or typical among Caribs than is wall thatching, but it occurs, and has long occurred, among virtually all the tribes

105, 106 [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 – Analyst]
[2] [see pp. 115, 117, 118, 119a, in category 116 – Analyst]
[2] [see pp. 121a, 121b, 122, in category 116; note that Fig. 6 is on p. 122 – Analyst]

Uruyén is located on a small, flat sabana, the Uruyén-tai, in the middle of Kamarakoto on the south side of the Aichá River. The sabana is a terrace, which breaks down abruptly about two meters to the low-water level of the river and the buildings are near the edge of this terrace, above normal high-water. The Yuruán, a perennial tributary flowing from Auyán-tepúi, joins the Aicha at Uruyén on the opposite side. Above this, on the Uruyén side, there is an embayment in the terrace, apparently an old meander of the Aichá, which formerly held a deep pool of water in which uruzyi fish were common. This had some influence in locating habitations here and gave the name Uruyén to the site. The uruyis have all been killed off at this locality and the pool is now a mere marsh at low-water, although flooded in the rainy season, but the other advantages of the site cause continued occupation. A short distance from Uruyén to the south and to the east there are forests and the farm patches are made in these. The site has been occupied since before the memory of living men and there are traces of older dwellings that have been destroyed.

There are now seven buildings standing at Uruyén, but two of them are completely unused. The nature of the buildings may be tabulated as follows:

Type of building	Material: Roof	Material: Walls	Use
A. Elongate: parapan.	kumwada-yarɛ.	maripada-yarɛ.	Principal dwelling. Reyes and family.
B. Rectangular shelter: wata-imedapun.	kumwada-yarɛ.	(none)	Work-house for A.
C. Circular: waipa.	kumwada-yarɛ.	maripada-yarɛ.	Partly abandoned and in disrepair but used as a work-house for B and for visitors.
D. Elongate: parapan.	kumwada-yarɛ.	mud (non).	Dwelling, Claudio and family.
E. Rectangular, with walls, "calabozo": wata-timeakɛn.	kumwada-yarɛ.	mud (non).	Used as a "calabozo" in the rainy season and for visitors.

Type of building	Material: Roof	Material: Walls	Use
F. Elongate: parapan.	kumwada-yang.	maripada-yang.	Dwelling, recently abandoned following death of owner.
G. Rectangular shelter: wata-imedapun.	maripada-yang.	(none)	Work-house for F, now abandoned.

The dimensions of F and G, which are typical, are shown in the plans (Figs. 2, 6A)$\frac{1}{n}$ and those of the other buildings more approximately in the map (Fig. 11)$\frac{2}{n}$ No attempt has been made to orient the buildings in any particular way. The orientation seems to depend on slight accidents of the ground and, more particularly, on placing the ends of buildings, where their doors are, more or less in the direction from which they are usually approached. The prevailing winds do not seem to have influenced orientation.

In house A lives the head of the place (to'-esa'), Reyes, with his wife, their three children, and two adopted children (orphaned nephew and niece). B is the work-house of this family. Reyes plans to convert it into a "calabozo" and it has more wall uprights than is normal for an open work-house. C was formerly a dwelling, the builder of which has emigrated, so that it is now falling into ruins but is still used occasionally as a work-house and guest-room. D was built by Juan José who moved to Oruá and then to Aleuiba, south of Uruyén. Since his departure it has been occupied by a member of Reyes' family group, Claudio, with his wife, who is Reyes' sister, and their four children.

E is a "calabozo," the use of which has been explained.

F and G, respectively the dwelling and work-house of a family group, have been recently abandoned because the head of this group died there. If a house is abandoned by a living headman, as C and D were, they may be occupied by any one who wishes to do so, and even if that headman subsequently dies the building does not become uninhabitable. The death in a house of a subsidiary member of the family does not cause its abandonment. But if the headman of a family dies, the house that he occupied when he died is immediately abandoned and is never occupied again, even temporarily. In this case the former head is actually buried in the house, but this is not always done and burial elsewhere does not make the house habitable. Such abandoned houses are frequently burned down, but there is no obligation to do so and the burning is apparently done merely for sport or as an accidental result of grass fires.

$\frac{1}{n}$ [see pp. 115 and 822, Category 116 - Analyst]
$\frac{2}{n}$ [see p. 122e Category 116 - Analyst]

411 The standard weapon is still the bow and arrow and practically every [857] male over the age of two has a bow of some sort. Very small boys improvise bows out of twigs, much as white children do, and play "Indian." Older boys [824] have bows almost like the men's but smaller. The standard bow (see Fig. 15) is usually made of araguaney wood (urapadę). Tecoma sp., a heavy (heavier than water), fine-grained, dark or reddish brown wood which is carefully smoothed and polished and is beautiful in finish and texture. Its length, often nearly two meters, is greater than the height of the user; one in our collection measures 190 cm., more than 10 cm. longer than the height of the tallest man seen. Its greatest diameter, in the middle, is usually less than 2 centimeters, tapering nearly to a point at both ends. The anteroposterior diameter is greater than the transverse. The front side is grooved for its full length. Fifteen to 20 cm. from each end is a spiral wrapping and between these one or two cords are stretched in the groove, putatively to add to the strength of the bow and help resist the pull. The bowstring is continuous with one of the spiral wrappings, whence it runs up the groove to the nearest end where it is permanently looped and then down the back of the bow to the other end where it is fastened by a loop that is taken off the wood when the bow is not in use. When unstrung the bow is perfectly straight and the string is only enough shorter than the bow to be taut when strung. Smaller bows, for boys or for use against small game, often lack the front strings and special wrappings and have the bowstring considerably shorter so that the bow is more definitely curved when strung.

Although the Kamarakoto bows are very handsome and carefully made, they will not withstand a heavy pull[111] and their accurate and hard-hitting [224] range is only a few meters. The Indian habit, also encouraged by the scarcity and high cost of powder and shot, is not to fire until he is on top of the game and virtually cannot miss.

A full sized arrow may be nearly as long as the bow, 130-190 cm. Arrows of many different types, from mere sharpened sticks up, are used. The most characteristic are the tarau, panachika, supalari, and waibakasi. Of these the tarau (Fig. 16B) is the simplest, as its name (= "simple") implies. It is used for shooting birds and is a reed shaft with a long wooden point. This point, not particularly sharp, is somewhat flattened and has several barbs asymmetrical- [263] ly whittled on its two sides. It is set into the shaft and the joint bound with [237] kurawai thread fastened with beeswax. The string end or nock commonly lacks the plug usual on other arrows and may be formed simply by compressing and binding the reed. This arrow is usually feathered, while the others usually are not. A typical specimen is 130 cm. in length (shorter than most types of arrows) of which the free point measures 14 cm. The center of gravity is 74 1/2 cm. from the butt.

[824] The panachika (Fig. 16D), used for hunting mammals and all sorts of small game, is more complex with a barbed steel point, wooden foreshaft (of

111 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analysis]

murun-yɛ'), long cane (purau-yɛ') shaft, with a short notched hardwood (murun-yɛ') plug or nock at the butt. The three joints are carefully wrapped with thread coated with beeswax. The foreshaft is commonly painted with a reddish gum on which a crude serpentine design may be traced with a finger while it is still wet. A typical specimen is 148 cm. in length: point 4 cm., point-foreshaft wrapping 7 1/2 cm., foreshaft 21 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 4 1/2 cm., shaft 107 1/2 cm., and string-plug and its wrapping 3 1/2 cm. The center of gravity is 92 cm. from the butt end — relatively farther forward than in the purau, which is feathered while the panachika is not.

The supalari (Fig. 16A) is like the panachika but is somewhat stouter, with a much heavier point, also steel but lanceolate and not barbed. This is the big-game arrow. The foreshaft is short but stout and there may be supplementary strings running from the point-foreshaft to the foreshaft-shaft wrappings. A specimen measures 155 cm. in length: point 6 1/2 cm., point-foreshaft wrapping 3 1/2 cm., foreshaft 9 1/2 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 6 cm., shaft 126 1/2 cm., string-plug and wrapping 3 cm. The center of gravity is 100 1/2 cm. from the butt, still farther forward than in the panachika (the foreshaft is shorter but heavier and the point is longer and heavier).

The fourth type of arrow, waibakasi[112] (Fig. 16 C) is mechanically the most complex. It has the same parts as the panachika and supalari, with a relatively very long foreshaft and stout shaft, but the point is detachable. The point proper is of steel and shaped as in the panachika, but this is continued in two posterior prongs around which a hollow core is built with kurawai? string and balata. This core slips loosely onto the sharpened end of the wooden foreshaft and is held there by a loop of heavy cord inserted into the wrappings of the hollow core and looped around the foreshaft about 20 cm. posterior to this insertion. In use a light cord several meters long is attached to this loop and its end held in the left hand. The arrow is used for shooting large fish. When the point penetrates the fish, the loop slips off the foreshaft, the arrow floats away, and leaves the point in the fish and attached to the line held by the shooter. A specimen is 173 1/2 cm. long, including the point, 167 1/2 cm. without the point. The point alone is 7 1/2 cm. from tip to base of core, 8 cm. to end of prongs, of which 3 1/2 cm. is the bare unwrapped point. Foreshaft 55 1/2 cm., foreshaft-shaft wrapping 6 cm., shaft 101 1/2 cm., string-plug and wrapping 4 1/2 cm. The center of gravity (with point in place) is 103 cm. from the butt, relatively more posterior than in the panachika or supalari but less so than in the feathered taran.

The waibakasi is different from anything that I find described among the most nearly neighboring or related Indians and my Taurepán informants had never heard of the object or its name, but it is known among the Makuchi and is widespread in British Guiana (Roth). The other three types of arrows are in general use among neighboring Carib tribes.[113] There are at least three types

[text continues on p. 131]

112, 113 [see footnotes on p 320, category 116 - Analysis]

411 prepared so that they fit perfectly and appear to be only a single tube unless
411 examined closely. Only the outer tube can be made from wood available to
439 the Kamarakotos and they therefore have to obtain the inner tube or the blowgun as a whole by trading with the Maquiritares (pabanoton), which makes a blowgun an expensive and treasured object. They do sometimes obtain only
[137] the inner tube by trade and construct the blowgun themselves. These tubes are a major item of trade since they grow only in the Guinau and Maquiritare country whence they are traded over an enormous area.

411 The blowgun as used sometimes consists only of the two fitted tubes, but
[824] generally a mouthpiece is attached. It is made of the hard shell of a palm nut
[322] (probably the awara, but I am not quite sure of this), cut in half, hollowed out,
[237] and pierced, so that it forms a hollow hemisphere with the breach opening of the bore in the middle. It is fastened to the double tube with beeswax. Related tribes often have sights on the tube and the Kamarakotos told me that they also sometimes use sights made of acure teeth, but I did not see any blowguns with sights among them. In fact, from personal experiment, it seems to me at least as easy, perhaps even easier, to aim the blowgun without a sight.[114]

Blowguns are commonly about twice as long as the height of the user. A specimen in my collection is 272 1/2 cm. in length. It is very light and can easily be held steady by the two hands near the mouth end despite its great length. Single-tube and split-tube blowguns, such as occur on the Rio Negro and upper Amazon, are unknown to the Kamarakotos.

[824] The darts (kumwa) (Fig. 17 C), usually about 38 - 40 cm. in length, are made of the ribs of palm leaves, shaved until they are nearly circular in section, 2 to 3 mm. in diameter, and very sharply pointed at one end. Curare,
[278] kumawara, is applied to about 3 cm. at the pointed end, but the very tip is rubbed clean so that a casual scratch does not inject any poison and the darts are quite safe to handle.

278 Curare is not made by the Kamarakotos, probably because the necessary
411 plant does not grow in this region, and they do not know how it is made. They
[439] obtain it from the Maquiritares in the form of a solid, black or dark-brown, pitch-like substance. They moisten the solid poison with water or, preferably, casave-juice (kumachi)[115] and rub the tips of the darts in this. Since the poison is so dark in color and the darts are light yellow, the presence or absence of poison on them is obvious.

411 The poisoned darts, without further preparation, are carried in a quiver,
415 mōiyɛ, made of basketwork waterproofed with a heavy coating of beeswax,
237 moromba, and with a tight-fitted skin cover, see Fig. 67. The Kamarakotos
[439] sometimes make these and sometimes obtain them, of essentially the same form, from the Maquiritares. A second basket, tsimuiⁿ, uncoated and without a top, is attached to the quiver to carry kapok or ceiba, atsari, see Fig. 67, and jaw of a caribe, or piranha, fish, tsipiraiⁿ, is attached to the top of quiver.

114, 115 [see footnotes on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

For use, a twist of kapok, atsari-kumaːsaʔ, about 45-50 mm. in length, is placed on the dart, leaving about 15 mm. of the blunt end free. The twist is flask-shaped with its greatest diameter nearer the butt end, this diameter being about 12-14 mm., slightly greater than the bore of the blowgun, which is normally about 9-11 mm. The twist of kapok is held in place and in shape by a spiral winding of very fine kurawai fiber. Its function is, of course, to prevent the escape of air around the dart and so to cause the puff of breath to propel it through the tube.

A point on the dart at the posterior end of the poison is placed between two of the sharp teeth of the caribe-jaw and rotated so that it is grooved here and breaks easily.[116] This causes the dart as a whole to break off and drop when it is driven into the prey, leaving the tip with the poison. If a bird is killed and recovered, the tip, called iporosaʔ, is often saved and stuck into the basketwork inside the top of the quiver, as a sort of tally of trophies.

The blowgun is an excellent weapon. The effort of aiming and firing it is slight, once the simple technique of giving the right puff of breath is acquired, and it is extraordinarily hard-hitting and accurate at moderate ranges. Its effective range is about as great as for bow and arrow and its accuracy is much greater, both inherently and in the hands of the Indians. The blowgun is used almost exclusively for shooting birds. The Indians say that the poison is not fatal to cold-blooded animals and that while it will kill mammals the amount carried by a blowgun dart is insufficient to kill most game mammals rapidly. The poison is completely harmless when taken by mouth and the small amount in a bird killed with it has no effect whatever. For that matter although a large amount would doubtless kill a man, the Indians say that a blowgun dart cannot, by its poisonous action, permanently harm a human being and that poison was never used in warfare or for executions. This is confirmed by the trustworthy accounts of travelers in other parts of South America and attacks with blowguns by Indians, or murders committed with them, are mere figments of the fiction-writers' imagination.

Farabee says that the Makuchis usually wind the outside of the gun with bark or lianas fastened with pitch and Roth also mentions the occasional use of elaborate wrappings. The Kamarakotos never do this. Koch-Grünberg says that the use of the blowgun requires extraordinary skill and no little strength, but this was not our experience. My wife, who is not unusually muscular and can hardly sight a high-powered rifle, was able to handle a blowgun with ease and we both acquired fair accuracy and considerable range with it after ten or twenty practice shots. It is, in fact, an extraordinarily easy weapon to use well, more so than any firearm, and the usual expressions of amazement at the ability of the Indians with the blowgun seem to me to involve extravagant exaggeration.

Ground game is usually stalked or run with dogs and killed with an improvised club, an arrow, or a shotgun. We did not see dogs hunting, but those

116 [see footnote on p. 320, category 116 - Analyst]

227 that they have always had steel hooks. The Kamarakotos use an ingenious device to prevent the fish from cutting the line, analogous to the wire or gut [347] leaders of more civilized fishing. The shaft of the hook is lashed to a stick of wood several centimeters long and the whole coated with balata. I have seen such "leaders" deeply scored by the teeth of fish and obviously they save many [283] cut lines. The line is cotton string and is simply tied to the end of a pole, without any arrangement for reeling or other complications.

Hand nets are of two kinds. The larger, iru^{3}, is used only for scooping [283] out fish already dead or stunned — it is purely a landing net. It is made of heavy double-twisted kurawai fiber knotted in a large square mesh (the weave is described under "Textiles") and as mounted, is about 50 cm. in depth and 20-30 cm. in diameter at the mouth. The throat is smaller and the lower end expands again to a square termination (see Fig. 18 B), an arrangement that tends to keep moribund fish from leaping out. This is mounted on a liana loop, the two ends of which, projecting together, form the handle.[118]

The other net, pendə, is used for live fishing and is much smaller than the iru^{3} (see Fig. 18A). It is only about 15 cm. deep when closed and the open mouth is 10-15 cm. in diameter. It is also of double-twisted kurawai, but the strands are finer and the weave more open than in the iru^{3} (see "Textiles"). It is mounted on a small, very smooth liana frame on which it slides freely. The frame has a short handle and is tied to the end of a long pole for use. When a fish is scooped in, the net slides to the end of the frame and bunches there so that the mouth closes.

226 The fish trap, muroi^{3}, (visible in Fig. 9) is made of small cylindrical withes or wicker, (peeled sections of a small, tough vine, tsimo^{3}), tied together into a rectangular mesh (see "Textiles"). The body of the trap is roughly cylindrical with one end terminating in a rigid ring from which flexible withes project freely back into the cylinder, forming a core which will yield and open when a fish enters but which springs back and prevents exit. The other end of the cylinder is left open in weaving and is tied shut when the trap is in use, opened again to remove the fish. The trap is fastened in an opening in a partial dam across a stream and fish are driven into it. Only small fish are so caught.

The favorite and most productive method of fishing is by poison, "barbasco" in Venezuelan Spanish (see Figs. 19-22). There are several different [824] poisons but the most used, the only one that we saw employed, is ine^{3}.[119] This is a vine of which both stem and root are poisonous, the latter more so. Large quantities of this are gathered, cut into sections about 50 cm. in length, [476] bruised by light beating, and tied into bundles. On the chosen day all the Indians of the vicinity gather at the stream to be poisoned and the men take the poison to the most upstream point to be fished. Someone goes a few meters above this point and muddies the water, as a signal and an aid in telling how

118, 119 [see footnotes on pp. 320-21, category 116 - Analyst]

[text continues on p. 136]

precisely tools, steel needles should perhaps be added to this list. Hammers and saws were unknown before our visit. Nails were unknown in their ordinary use but most women had one which they used for a sort of crocheting (see "Textiles"). There are also a few recently acquired steel picks used in mining.

No strictly native tools are now in use, if one excepts the casual use of wooden clubs and sharpened sticks. The essential steel tools were introduced by trading far in advance of white penetration in this region and are now old in the tribe, to the point that all memory of analogous native tools is lost. The working of stone is an unknown art now, and judging from Brazilian tribes less well equipped with steel, as well as from the few archaeological remains known from Venezuelan Guayana, the use of stone was never highly developed. Pre-Columbian implements were apparently mostly of wood and bone, supplemented by stone axes,[125] and a more extensive use of fire than at present.

Cooking.

The principal objects necessary to prepare casave have been mentioned under "Food Preparation." They are the grater, press, trough, sieve, and puitari. Most households have two troughs, a relatively simple one, called moru, for casave meal, and the more finished watea for making kachiri. Both are hollowed sections of logs. For the moru the log is split in half and one section simply hollowed. For the watea the log is unsplit but a deep excavation is made in one side and the ends are carved so as to leave stout projecting handles (see Fig. 27). Favorite woods for these troughs are waidawan-yę and kopei-yę (see "Vocabulary").[1] While the kachiri is maturing, the watea is usually covered with a slab of bark.

Several of the baskets, listed together below, are used in the preparation and serving of food.

The primitive and still the common cooking vessel is a clay pot, o.ina. These are very simple and without any decoration, painted or molded, unless an occasional series of three or four nubbins on the outside below the rim can be so designated.[126] Only two basic patterns were seen, with considerable variations in size and proportions. The commoner type is wider than deep, with a flaring rim below which is a constricted neck, followed by the greatest diameter at about the middle of the depth. Below this, the pot is nearly conical but the bottom has a small flat or slightly concave surface. It will thus stand alone although unstable. The other pattern, which is rare, is deeper than wide, essentially ovoid with the lower end of smaller radius and the upper, big, end with an unflaring collar around the mouth (Fig. 28).

Although so simple, these pots are well made, smooth and almost as perfectly circular as if turned on a wheel (which, of course, is unknown). They are made by hand, the base modeled from a lump of clay and the sides then

125, 126 [see footnotes on p. 321, category 116 - Analyst]
1 [see vocabulary on p. 69, category 116 - Analyst]

291 (Fig. 33A). The loincloth is a long band of red fabric, now always trade goods but formerly of cotton homespun, passed between the legs, looped over the belt, and usually, but not always, wrapped around the waist, in such a way as to form a tight pouch over penis and testicles with one end hanging free in front of this and the other similarly hanging down behind.

301

291

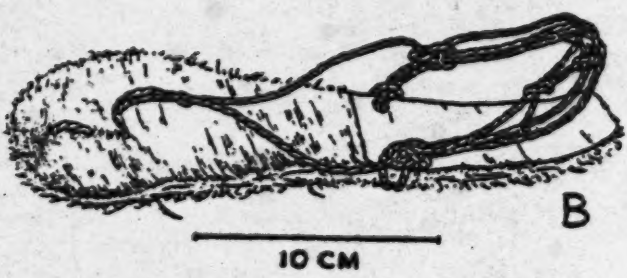

Fig. 32 — Kamarakoto Earring and Sandal.
A, earring, a silver crescent pendant with red, white, and blue beads and red cotton tassels. B, typical sandal of moriche palm leaf base with moriche fiber cords.

[283] [284]

[171] The native sandal (Fig. 32 B), is almost identical in pattern with one of the crudest types used by the lower classes in northern Venezuela, but it seems certain that the latter is a survival of a widespread pre-Columbian pattern and that this is native and not introduced among the Kamarakotos and allied tribes.[132]

132 [see footnote on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]

294 The nearly flat sole is cut from the thick, fibrous, and nearly inflexible leaf
[829] base of a moriche palm. On the upper (foot) side, the anterior end is peeled,
[263] while the heel part is left with the smooth surface of the cortex. Cords of moriche fiber are used, several cords running together from holes on each side at the front of the heel part (at the instep) and these run behind and above the heel when the sandal is worn. A double cord is attached through three holes (in longitudinal series) at the front part of the sandal so as to run between the first (big) and second toes, then separating and tying to the heel cords above
291 their attachments on each side. Essentially similar sandals are worn by almost
171 all the sabana Indians of this whole area, even into northern Brazil. They are
182 another indication, if any is needed, that the Kamarakotos are decidedly sabana Indians, for sandals are rarely or never used by the forest tribes and are, for in-
[461] stance, unknown in the mainly forested Amazon valley, proper. Even the sabana Indians, including the Kamarakotos, seldom wear them, however, doing so only on relatively long marches in the dry season and taking them off around
[172] their homes or on soft or slippery terrane. These sandals are called purai while
[192] the recently introduced Venezuelan sandals are called by their Spanish name, "alpargata."

291 The primitive female costume consists only of an apron just large enough to cover the pubic region and with attached strings by which it is tied around
[286] the waist. This apron, the mosa or motsa, is now always a woven fabric with
[177] beads. Like the dress it is an adaptation of a foreign material to native use, but it is a far older one and merely uses the material in a purely native pattern. These aprons are very attractive and are made in a great variety of patterns —
[531] indeed I have never seen two exactly alike. The favorite colors are white and dark blue and usually the main part of the apron will be solidly one of these, with geometrical borders of the other above and below. There may rarely be an allover pattern or a median band, and colors other than blue or white are sometimes used, but in all that I have seen blue or white predominates.[133] Some of the women always wear the mosa, even though a dress be worn over it. The dress has thus supplemented and not supplanted the older costume and this is an
174 interesting and quite literal example of cultural stratification.
114 It is commonly believed that all the Carib tribes, which would include
291 the Kamarakotos, went without any clothing, even loincloths and aprons, in pre-
[177] Columbian days and that the practice of covering the pubic region arose under European influence. Koch-Grünberg, for instance, states this very positively as regards the loincloth and notes as a decisive argument that even the (Taurepán, not Arekuna in general) name kamisa, is foreign. De Goeje is equally positive as regards the Dutch and French Guiana Caribs and cites Barrere as saying in 1743 that they were completely naked. Roth quotes numerous authorities to this effect regarding British Guiana Indians and apparently inclines to agree with the consensus although he does not give a specific statement of his own

133 [see footnote on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]

535 Some dances, especially the parichara, require special ornaments or costumes. The parichara-pon, men's costume for this dance, consists of a diadem, aro[9], and a shirt, imaripadai, made of maripa leaves. The women, who otherwise are always bareheaded, wear for this dance a headband of woven cotton, inimo-katsa[9] (literally only "twisted fine cotton twine"), from the back of which projects a streamer with cotton tassels or puffs of down (Fig. 33 E). In another dance, warepan, the participants are said to be draped with cloth, but we did not see this and the description was so vague that I have no clear idea of the costume, nor have I found a description of it among related tribes although all of them apparently have this dance.

301 178 Back ornaments of various sorts seem formerly to have been typical of the central Caribs, but for some reason they are now dying out, at least in some regions, even though other types of native ornaments are as popular as ever or more so. I did not see or hear of any back ornaments among the Kamarakotos.

Tattooing and Painting.

304 [164] Tattooing is known and is occasionally practiced but it is not now very popular and most members of the tribe are not tattooed.[137] The pigment is a mixture of soot scraped from cooking pots, ainatoron, and wild honey, worked in, spot by spot, with a sliver of wood (or palm leaf rib). A steel sewing needle is now sometimes used if available. The mark left is a somewhat bluish black. [531] The patterns are not symbolic (consciously at least) or indicative of any social status; any individual can use any design that suits his fancy, and this is true also of painted designs. The tattooed designs do not cover any large area and are usually simple, often merely a spot or cross on each cheek. In exceptionally complex cases, several lines and spots may be made around the mouth (see Fig. 34). Koch-Grünberg has shown that hooked lines around the mouth are typical, but not universal, among Taurepán women (see 1923, Vol. III, Plate 12), as we also observed, and that it also occurs among the neighbors of that Arekuna tribe, but we did not observe this motif, either painted or tattooed, among the Kamarakotos.

302 Unlike tattooing, face — and to a lesser extent body — painting is universal among the Kamarakotos. Some individuals, especially among the boys and the more coquettish women, are usually painted; others, especially the more sedate men, paint only for dances and other social occasions; but all paint themselves at some times. No one uses a pattern consistently, but on the contrary all show considerable ingenuity in varying the pattern.

302 386 ●824 Soot and white clay, tauwa, are used for painting, especially for dances, but the usual paints are blue-black and red vegetable dyes. The blue-black paint, karõi, is the well-known Genipa dye, called "caruto" in colloquial

[text continues on p. 157]

137 [see footnote on p. 323, category 116 – Analyst]

Venezuelan (a word of Indian origin probably cognate with karõi). The Genipa tree, often planted for this purpose although a different wild species (rana) is also used, has pulpy fruits the juice of which turns dark on exposure to air. Two red dyes are used: anonda and karaberõ. The first is the even better known Bixa — dye, "onoto" in colloquial Venezuelan (also of Indian origin and cognate with anonda). This shrub has spiny pods with innumerable small seeds which are crushed in water, boiled down to a paste or hard ball, and mixed with oil from the mausa-yɛ', a palm probably Elaeis sp., for use. The other red dye, karaberõ, is prepared from leaves of a vine, Bignonia, (sens. lat. exact classification uncertain), also boiled down and mixed with palm oil. From the Maquiritares the Kamarakotos obtain another closely similar dye, kurawõri, probably, like its name, merely a variety of karaberõ.

The red dyes are sometimes used for painting lines, but more often they are simply smeared on the face, sometimes also on the body, over the whole area or in large splotches.[138] The blue-black paint is applied over the red, or without the latter, in lines, dots, crosses, and, rarely, circles. A few typical examples of the innumerable patterns seen are shown in Fig. 34.

Textiles

The word "textiles" is here used in its broadest sense to include all objects that are made by interlocking flexible strands in some way. It thus includes such widely variant things as cotton cloth, compound bead necklaces, baskets, and fish traps, to mention only a few, but all these have elements in common and show a graded series of allied techniques belonging to a unified culture complex. It is thus convenient to treat them together.

Defined in this way, the manufacture and use of textiles is perhaps the most important and striking single element in Kamarakoto culture. Together with the cultivation of casave and the construction of semi-permanent houses, this can be used to define a great culture area including most of northeastern South America. The textile arts of part of this area, especially British Guiana, are well known and are broadly similar to those of the Kamarakotos, but the latter do, of course, have their own variations of techniques and forms and their own selection of particular ones of the many scattered among different Guiana tribes. In Venezuela generally, furthermore, explicit studies of these arts are almost lacking and attention should be called not only to their importance among the wild tribes but also to their potential value for the country as a civilized community.[139]

[see footnotes on p. 323, category 116 – Analyst]

286 "III. Rigid materials that unite a fabric of flexible strands passed through holes in these.

Beads and analogous pierced pieces of all sorts of materials, animal, vegetable, and mineral. (Kamarakotos use glass beads and pierced seeds.) These are not often classed as textile materials, but there are many true textiles that cannot be made without them, in which they are an integral part of the weave which would unravel or collapse without them.

248 283 Of the twisted or spun fibers, cotton, the only one that they spin, properly speaking, is the most important to the Kamarakotos. It is extensively planted, both in the farm patches (conucos) and in small thickets around the houses. The latter may have sprung up originally from discarded seeds, but they are encouraged and used extensively and cotton will grow fairly well on the relatively barren sabanas. It ripens in the latter part of the dry season and when the pods split they are gathered, dried and bleached in the sun in a basketwork tray, and ginned and carded by hand. No comb or other device for carding is employed to supplement the fingers, but the cotton is slowly teased and worked out into a long roll, the thickness depending on the weight of the desired thread.

283 824 Of the fibers that are twisted, rather than spun, only two are important or appear to be truly native and regularly employed, one from a Bromelia and the other from the moriche palm, Mauritia. The leaves of the Bromelia, kurawai' of the Kamarakotos, "curagua" in colloquial Venezuelan (a cognate word), are pulled through a loop to break them and expose the fibers which are then carefully drawn by hand, washed, and dried and bleached in a tray in the sun. The coarser but strong and lustrous Mauritia fibers are made from young leaves, split into segments and then broken by doubling and pulling in the fingers until the fiber bundles can be drawn. These are soaked well in water, cleaned and sometimes further split, and then dried and bleached.

[171] The fibers of the Agave and Fourcroya type, "cocuiza," "cocuy," "maguey," etc., so widely used in northern Venezuela, are not used by the Kamarakotos although one of the "modernists" suggests their introduction. Since they serve no other purpose than do the curagua and moriche fibers and are decidedly inferior to these, it is to be hoped that his plans will not work out.

285 824 Among untwisted textile materials, for baskets, mats, fish traps, etc., three are in general use: palm leaves, a small flexible vine, and the split cortex of a reed. Almost any palm leaves may be used occasionally, but the two regularly employed are moriche (Mauritia) leaves, kwai-yarɛ, and seje (Oenocarpus) leaves, kunwada-yarɛ. The palmate moriche leaves require splitting while the pinnate seje leaves do not, but in both cases the strips are not detached from the rib, which becomes part of the finished object.

285 824 Any flexible vine may be used for cord, but the only one commonly used for textile work (traps and a few baskets) is tsimoⁿ, "bejuco de alambrito" in colloquial Venezuelan (but this term is applied to various small vines and I do not know the botanical name of this particular one).[140] This vine is peeled, occasionally split and trimmed, and gives a basket-material of Class II-B-a-2 of the classification given above.

By far the commonest and most important of basket materials, however, is a split reed, probably Ischnosiphon sp., called "tirita" or "tiriti," in Venezuelan Spanish, and manare in Kamarakoto.[141] These reeds are split longitudinally into segments (usually eight in number) and the pith is cleaned from each. The green epidermis is usually removed, but may be left. The outer (convex) surface is sometimes painted black with pot soot, for weaving patterns, but usually they are left of the natural color which is pale yellow, turning pale brown, for the peeled, and pale green, turning a darker brown, for the unpeeled segments.

The only other basket material of any importance is a vine (actually a palm with the habit of a vine) called wadapi, a species of Desmoncus, "camuare" in local Spanish, closely allied to the well-known "albarico" of northern Venezuela. Suitably split and flexed, this gives a flat wicker of rich, dark brown color. I saw no baskets made entirely of this among the Kamarakotos, but they commonly use it for the color contrast as an occasional strand in a basket otherwise made of manare.

Spinning and Twisting.

283 114 128 Throughout the great South American textile area, variations in technique are numerous and characteristic and have been made the subject of an important monograph by Frödin and Nordenskiöld (1918). The present section will briefly describe the Kamarakoto variations of these processes and will fit them into the distributional pattern that Frödin and Nordenskiöld have established.

283 171 For spinning cotton, the Kamarakotos use a true spindle (Fig. 35), such as occurs all over South America except in the farthest south and a few isolated areas (e.g. on the upper Rio Negro and Yapura). Within a more limited area, Im Thurn and others have shown that the Caribs almost all use spindles and spin cotton while the Arawaks often do not, using twisted fibers instead, except under apparent Carib influence.

Frödin and Nordenskiöld divide South American spindles into the Bororó-type, in the Andes and the far southern or southwestern Amazon Basin, and the Bakairí-type, practically everywhere on the continent. The Kamarakoto spindle belongs, of course, to the latter type, with its lower end thickened and only roughly rounded, the whorl wedged onto this and adapted for vertical spinning, and the thread wound on the working end above the whorl.

140, 141 [See footnotes on p. 323, category 116 - Analyst]

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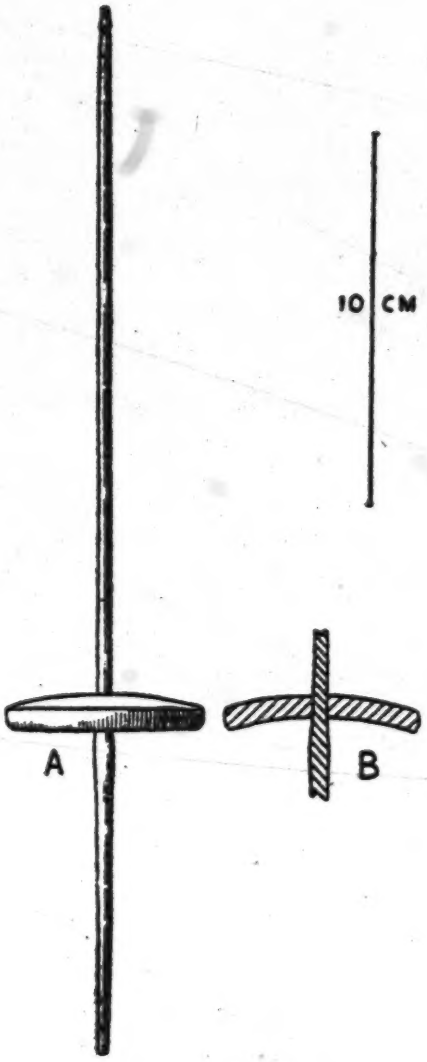

Fig. 35 — Kamarakoto Spindle.
A, side view of spindle. B, partial cross section showing fitting of whorl on spindle.

● [824] The whorl is discoidal, undecorated, and usually is a thick but light piece of calabash with the convex side up. It is considerably nearer the lower than

283 controlled and the fibers are individually longer, so that an almost microscopic strand of a few fibers or a heavy, up to 3 mm., single-twisted strand can be produced. Thus a stout 3-ply bowstring is made from three heavy initial strands, each about 2 mm. in diameter. The basic twisting in this manner is more often to the right, but both are common, and I believe that Kamarakoto hand-
[17] twining must be classified as mixed with right predominating. Frödin and Nordenskiöld have shown that right hand-twining is much more common than left and they classify the Arekunas (probably all Taurepánes in their sample) as right-twining, but with exceptional left-twining and they do show the Guiana coastal Indians as mixed in this respect. In fact, some Indians, including the Kamarakotos, make hand-twine by a technique that can twist it both ways from the middle, and in general the direction of twisting in hand-twisting is not as consistent or as clear a reflection of basic technique as for spinning.

In making some moriche twine, as for sandal fastenings, a curious and rapid technique is employed. The fibers are separated into two bundles and rolled up the thigh, both at once but so that they remain separate, producing two left-twisted strands. The hand then immediately runs down the thigh, twisting these two strands together into a right-twisted two-ply twine.

● [824] While on the subject of twine, it should be remembered that strips of bark and vines of all kinds and sizes are often used like twine. Thus tobacco will be tied into a strip of bark for curing, house frames are tied together with vines, etc. Aside from their uses in textiles, however, the spun and twisted twines are commonly used as string to tie loads, baskets, etc.

Textiles Made of Thread.

28 Textiles made of thread (or twine), which is highly flexible in all directions, naturally require different techniques and serve different purposes from those made of more rigid materials, such as those employed in basketry. The two are, however, related and show a tendency toward association in a single culture complex. This is especially true in cases, like that of the Kamarakotos, in which the basketry is plaited, twined, and woven — techniques also employed in thread textiles — rather than coiled — a technique that cannot be applied to thread textiles.

283 Cotton and bast threads have much the same properties, but they differ
284 enough that in any one tribe a given type of textile is almost invariably made
171 of one and not the other. Between different tribes there may, however, be re-
[352] placement of one by the other. Thus the Kamarakotos and most other Caribs make cotton hammocks but many Arawaks, who are in general less proficient
[462] in cotton techniques, make bast-thread hammocks.[142] There is also commonly an element of sexual division of labor in these differences. Among the Kamarakotos and various other tribes the spinning of cotton and the manufacture of

142 [see footnote on p. 323, category 116 — Analyst]

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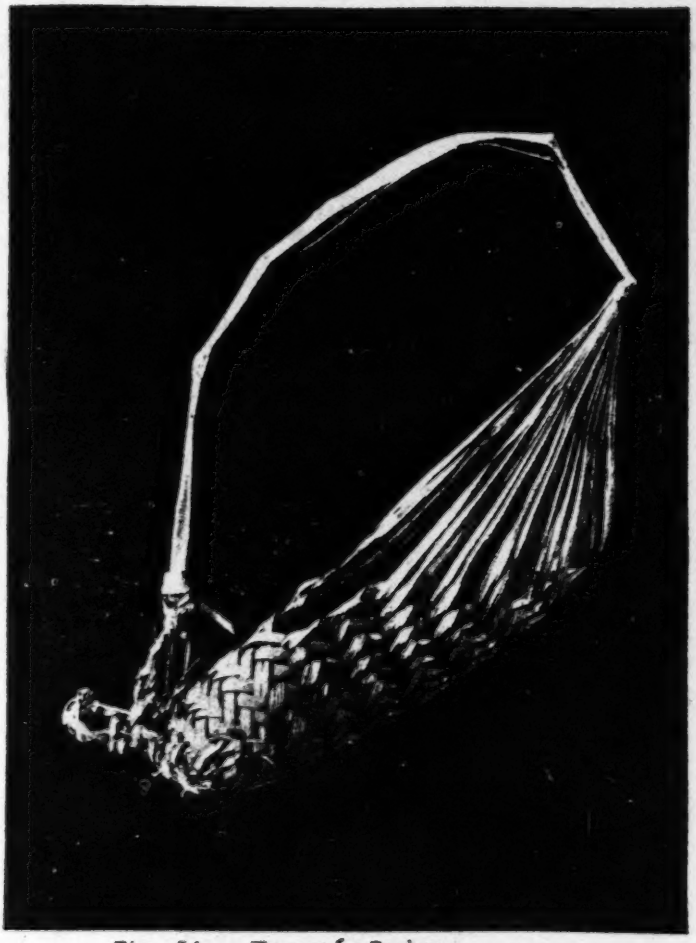

Fig. 54 — Taurepán Basket.

● [824] A worokopɘ, variety of pakarama, made by plain plaiting of a single moriche palm leaf.

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Fig. 55 — Kamarakoto Basket.
A wakawa[1], made by plain plaiting of two moriche palm leaves.

534

Duct flutes

With deflector (and stops) 7. End-blown flute, plug-flute, or flageolet.

[114] In Roth's earlier and less scientific classification these various instruments would appear as:

I. Wind	4.	Wooden trumpet.
	5.	Horn trumpet.
	6.	Flute.
	7.	Flageolet.
II. Reed (not observed)		
III. String (not used)		
IV. Percussion	1.	Seed pods.
	2.	Rattles.
	3.	Skin drum.
V. Friction (not observed)		

[114] Von Hornbostel's classification (in Koch-Grünberg) is essentially like that of Izikowitz but less detailed.

1. The numerous necklaces and arm or leg-bands to which are attached jingling objects are in effect jingle-rattles. Some of these are often worn in [535] everyday life without definitely musical intention. Jingling arm and leg-bands are, however, sometimes especially donned for dancing and then may be classed [824] as true musical instruments. Those seen were all of hard seed pods or small [237] fruit shells. Quite possibly hoof, bone, and beetle-wing jingle rattles, widespread in this part of the world, are also known but they must be relatively rare.

2. The Kamarakoto rattle is the well-known maraka (or "maraca"), a gourd rattle with a short wooden handle by which it is shaken. The handle passes entirely through the hard, hollow gourd, in which seeds or pebbles pro- [171] vide the sounding agency. Nordenskiöld and Izikowitz have shown how widespread such rattles are and the latter concludes that they have been diffused from a Central American focus, not, as has been claimed, exclusively or particularly by the Arawaks although, among other ethnic groups, these Indians [192] had a part in its spread. The Kamarakotos use the word maraka for it, an international word that has spread perhaps through the Tupi "lingoa geral" into [171] many, but not all, Carib and Arawak dialects. As is well known this instrument and the name "maraca" for it have been adopted in the Spanish-American culture of northern South America and the West Indies and with the recent popularity of the music of this region (especially Cuba) have become known to virtually the whole civilized world. The Kamarakotos' use of the instrument may confidently be considered aboriginal, as (collaterally) the source and not a derivative of the Venezuelan (Cuban, etc.) maraca. They use the rattle for

114 type of drum has not simply replaced or modified a purely Indian type over
171 wide areas, although he seems not to have paid sufficient heed to his own warn-
174 ings when he drew his sweeping conclusions. It is impossible to be quite sure,
534 either way, but certainly the flat statement that this region had no drums until European introduction is quite unjustified and it is possible, or even probable, that a native drum existed and that it acquired a European name when and because it was modified by introduction of European technical elements of construction.

171 Roth emphasizes that British Guiana drums have a "silent" end (i.e. one
534 that is not struck) on which there is a "resounder" or snare. The Kamarakoto drums have no snare and the two ends are equivalent in structure and tonal quality, even though they are commonly of different sorts of skin.

534 4. The typical instrument of the parichara dance, also used in several
[535] other dances, is a very simple and primitive trumpet called kamai. These are
[824] plain hollow tubes, open at both ends and with any internal partitions removed, of Cecropia (doubtless the primitive material, "yagrumo" in Venezuelan Spanish) or bamboo. They are played, like our metallic trumpets, by applying the mouth to one open end and causing the compressed lips to vibrate by blowing. There are no stops or any special mouthpiece and each kamai produces a single note, but several different sizes, each with its own note, are used by the different players at the same time. We could not detect any particular relationship or harmony between the different pitches of kamai blown simultaneously.
[531] Among other Indian tribes such trumpets are often more or less elaborately decorated, but no decoration whatever had been applied to the several Kamarakoto examples that I observed. This is in keeping with the almost complete absence of extrinsic ornamentation on Kamarakoto articles of manufacture. There is no question that this instrument is entirely indigenous. It is among the oldest of all native South American instruments still in use and the Kamarakotos have it in irreducibly simple and primitive form.

[177] 5. One side-blown cow-horn trumpet was seen, but it was an object of curiosity to the Indians themselves and represents a very recent intrusion, not
[439] part of Kamarakoto culture. Cows are completely unknown in this region and the manufactured trumpet was imported by intertribal trade as a curiosity, probably ultimately from British Guiana although I could not surely confirm
[171] this. Izikowitz notes the presence of such trumpets at various points in South America (the nearest in the Roroima region, represented by a specimen in the Göteborgs Museum) and believes that they represent Negro influence.

534 Although their use of an object so foreign to them is not a very vital
177 datum, it has some bearing on diffusion and transfer of use, which is here seen
[202] in its earliest stage. It is, from this point of view, interesting that Izikowitz says that in this region (the Guianas, Roroima, etc.) side-blown trumpets in general and cow-horn trumpets in particular are used only for signaling. The

534 The
197 Kamarakotos do not signal with trumpets and were using their cow-horn trumpet
202 along with the native kamai in dancing. They call it by the colloquial Spanish
[325] word "cacho" (kacho).

534 6. Without prompting, native informants spoke of a side-blown flute,
171 called naunau. Such flutes, highly variable in detail, are common in the Guiana region (Roth, Izikowitz) and are known from the Taurepáne (von
[128] Hombostel). Unfortunately I can give no reliable details because no naunau was owned by any of the nearby Indians and I could find no one who would make one, although several professed acquaintance with it.

534 7. One of the commonest and, to our ears, by far the best of Kamarakoto instruments is an end-blown duct flute with deflector and stops, or a plug flute
● [124] (in Izikowitz's terminology), in other words, a native flageolet. The generic name for this is lue (or rue – whence the place name Luepa in the Gran Sabana), from the reed of which it is made, and the commonest variety, a small flageo-
[237] let, is called kaikara.[163] The kaikara has a proximal beeswax deflector, leaving only a narrow superior air passage, and four primary stops. These, as well as the sound orifice immediately distal to the deflector, are made by burning. The most proximal of the four stops is placed at one-third of the distance from distal to proximal ends of the instrument and the other three stops evenly spaced between this and the distal end. A supplementary stop, thumb hole, is placed on the lower surface immediately below the first (most proximal) primary stop. This is stopped by the left thumb, while the left index and middle fingers cover the first two stops and right index and middle fingers the two more distal stops.

This instrument has a rather weak but pure and pleasing tone not unlike that of a European flute and with considerable range and variety so that, unlike any other Kamarakoto music, skillful playing on it was enjoyable to our ears.
[535] It is used in some dances, notably the tukiii[3] (not the parichara), and, unlike
[533] any other instrument as far as we observed, it is also played (by men only) for simple pleasure and entertainment. I have even seen a young man wandering along by himself across the sabanas happily playing really pretty snatches of melody on a kaikara as he went.

534 Izikowitz has shown that flutes of almost innumerable varieties are es-
171 pecially characteristic of aboriginal cultures in South America. In his class of plug flutes, to which the typical Kamarakoto flageolets belong, he distinguishes a purely Indian, pre-Columbian type, of which the kaikara just described might almost be taken as the prototype or classic example, as well as types modified under European influence and others which are native copies of old European models. The Kamarakoto flageolets show no trace of European influence.

As a supplement to this review, it seems advisable to list a few instruments not observed among the Kamarakotos but known among nearby tribes of similar culture:

163 [see footnote on p. 326, category 116 – Analyst]

484 501 distances along or parallel to navigable streams rather than using canoes although these were available. All the inhabited places, as well as those frequented for any other purpose, are linked by well defined trails which are as permanent and as well known to the natives as our highways are to us. There are also long trails, their "through highways" or "interstate thoroughfares," that connect with the regions of other tribal groups, for instance to the Gran Sabana and to the Maquiritares country.

In the sabanas these trails are self-made and are marked by absence of vegetation along the narrow track, which has a bare and usually hard and perfectly smooth bottom and soon becomes sunk a few centimeters below the level [488] of the surrounding soil. They are very narrow. Even a main trail may be only fifteen or twenty centimeters wide, because the Indians always walk in single file and place one foot exactly in front of the other, so that the width of the trail is little more than the width of the foot. So ingrained is this habit that 484 even when walking only a few meters two Indians never walk side by side. On 521 the march they frequently carry on animated conversations with each other without turning their heads or appearing to address each other, a habit carried over to some extent into other circumstances so that it is rather uncommon for them deliberately to face each other for conversational purposes — a habit striking and sometimes disconcerting to the civilized visitor.

487 Trails through forest are equally visible although commonly floored with [412] leaves and twigs, which are not purposely removed. Interfering brush and branches are lopped off with machetes, leaving a passage where it is always possible to walk upright.

484 Swamps that cannot easily be avoided are crossed with the aid of bridges 491 (Figs. 69, 70) or commonly on a chain of large moriche palm (kwai-yĉ) 499 trunks. These trees are abundant in swampy situations and commonly a com- ● [824] plete causeway can be made simply by felling them in the desired direction, so that the head of one falls near the stump of the next. The heavy trunks are not transported for this purpose. Gaps are filled in with smaller, readily carried logs and sticks or with the heavy bases of moriche leaves and the latter may be used alone for traversing short stretches of boggy ground without open water.

Streams may simply be forded if the bottom is hard and (as is true of all the streams of the central area) there are no dangerous fishes or reptiles, but even under these circumstances much traveled trails usually have bridges over small streams, up to five meters or so in width, and these are almost always provided if the bottom is of deep mud. The simplest and commonest bridge is simply a tree trunk, or frequently two laid parallel. Sometimes a small pole is lashed at the ends to standing trees on the two banks, or put in crotches of these, to serve as a handrail. Nordenskiöld (1930, Appendix 4) has given some 484 491 interesting comments on South American Indian bridges and a distribution map, 171 in connection with which it is notable that I observed no liana bridges and no

use of handrails at fords (without a log bridge). Having canoes, the Kamarakotos do not require long bridges and they belong to the northeastern pole-bridge area of Nordenskiöld's map. liana bridges especially typifying northwestern South America, where navigation is less commonly understood, while complex cantilever bridges are confined to the central Andes.

Occasionally more complex, well supported, but still typically pole bridges are built, like that shown in Fig. 70, with the foot poles, always two in such more elaborate structures, laid on transverse supports which are fixed in place by piles. This particular bridge illustrates all three methods of support on piles. At one end the transverse element is simply wedged between plain piles and the rising bank. At the other end this piece is laid in notches in the tops of the piles. In the middle it is most firmly held, on steps in three piles, two on one side and one, in the middle, on the other, so that motion downward or in a horizontal plane is quite impossible. The elements are not lashed together, the foot poles being sufficiently secured by the bedding of the ends in the soft earth of the stream banks and at one end by a simple transverse piece that keeps them from sliding longitudinally into the bank. I did not see or hear of any lashed bridges, longer than a single pole, such as Koch-Grünberg reports for the Taurepánes (1923, Vol. III, Fig. 6).

Streams too large to bridge conveniently with poles or felled trees are forded or swum if need be, but preferably crossed by canoe. The use of the canoe for longitudinal carrying is not unknown, but its usual function in this area is simply as a ferry. For instance, at Uruyén, where the main trail up and down the Kamarata valley crosses the Aichá, a canoe is kept as a ferry and seldom used for any other purpose, although the stream is fordable.

The Taurepánes and some other Arekunas use bark canoes, the so-called woodskins (see Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Vol. III, Fig. 5; Roth, 1924, pp. 615-617). The Kamarakotos are well within the northern part of the distribution of woodskins (see Nordenskiöld 1924, Map 22) and they are aware of these vessels, but none appear now to be in use at least in the central group, where canoes are, in any case, rare and a luxury rather than a necessity. The few canoes now in use here are dugouts, simple but graceful in form, see Figs. 71, 72, of a single piece of wood except for the transverse braces or stretchers which also serve as seats. The ends are tapered and turn up, not closed by a separate piece of wood as in some Makuchi dugouts (Roth 1924, Plate 178A and B). Kamarakotos call embarkations in general kan.wa (or kanhwa, i.e. canoe) and this particular sort of dugout kuryara, showing the Carib root whence come the Spanish "curiara" and English "corial," but as their canoes are corials, the two words are essentially synonymous for them. They more often use the word kuryara. The favorite wood is waidawau-yé', probably a species of Nectandra. Roth notes that this (or a closely related) tree is also considered by the Arawaks to be best for dugouts.

[Text continues on p. 212]

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[Text continues on p. 212]

501 [322] 439 [824]

The Kamarakoto paddle is skillfully carved from a single piece of wood and is much valued, as is shown by the fact that they have traded paddles from as far away as the Brazilian border. The accompanying figure (Fig. 71 B) is of a Kamarakoto-made paddle of poretade (poreta-yɛʔ?) a wood that I was unable to identify. It has a crescentic handle and an elongate oval blade, widest near the distal end. Nordenskiöld (1924, Map 23) has mapped types of South American paddles and the Kamarakoto paddle is generally similar to those that he shows in this general region although not identical with any known to him and, by coincidence, rather near one he shows well south of the Amazon (Yuruna, after K. v. d. Steinen). It is, however, nearly identical with the Taurepán paddle (Koch-Grünberg 1923, Vol. III, Pl. 40, Fig. 5), not known to Nordenskiöld. Roth's data, also published too late for inclusion in Nordenskiöld's map (1924, Fig. 337) show that paddle forms do indeed have a characteristic tribal distribution but that the broader geographic distribution is by no means as clear as Nordenskiöld's map suggests. Types that appear on this map to characterize such widely separate areas as the extreme southern and southeastern Amazon Basin, the central Amazon Basin, and the Orinoco Delta, all occur, in fact, within the limited region from the British Guiana Coast to the upper Orinoco, but not in the same tribe. The Arekuna paddle is a recognizable and distinct form, but the scanty data do not yet show any differentiation within the local tribal groups of Arekunas.

501 171 [114]

Rafts are not used, unless occasionally and extemporaneously. They are mainly western in South America, although Nordenskiöld was not correct in supposing them absent in the Guianas. Gumilla and Humboldt long since described their use on the Orinoco as did Crévaux in French Guiana, but of course it is true that the canoe is the typical means of water transport in this whole region.

482 [492]

Since most transportation is overland and since beasts of burden are unknown (the only possibility, the dog, is never so used), carrying is done entirely in back-packs.[166] Women carry with the elaborate basketry akaiʾ and koataiʾ (see "Basketry," above), very seldom used by the men, an apparent distinction from Taurepánes and other allied tribes in which this type of back-pack is frequently, or even principally, used by men. The Kamarakoto man's back-pack (Fig. 73) is peculiar among allied Indians in its simplicity and absence of a retaining rim at the sides or bottom. It is simply a section of tough liana made into a closed loop with carrying straps attached at the sides and crude netting of bark or twine across the frame. The load, which may be quite as heavy and bulky as that carried by a woman in an akai , is tied to this frame, where it is sustained only by its own lashing. Such a pack seems inconvenient but it was invariably preferred by the men even when an apparently much more suitable akaiʾ (or koataiʾ) was at hand.

Such frames are usually carried by a loop over each arm at the shoulder. The akaiʾ and koataiʾ may be so carried, but usually are mainly or wholly supported by a head-strap. The use of a chest-strap is unusual.[167]

166, 167 [see footnotes on p. 327, category 116 – Analyst]

[text continues on p. 213]

754 all, in human guise, are recognized as being supernatural beings and not really
776 human. Others are spirits that can materialize in almost any form, and still others are wholly invisible and formless supernatural beings or even represent a supernatural influence that is hardly thought of as possessing individuality or personality. Even these indefinite distinctions hardly seem to be very clear-
771 ly present in the Indian mind. In a broader sense, kanaima is the evil princi-
778 ple of the universe and its manifestations are endlessly protean and essentially indefinable, an idea approaching the Polynesian mana (see Karsten's discussion, which, however, does not include an explicit understanding of more specific aspects of Carib kanaima).

778 Anything unexpected, a noise, a light, a branch falling, an unusual bird,
781 a sudden shadow, may be greeted with the cry of "kanaima," a word that is
822 heard constantly on Indian lips, both jokingly and fearfully. In general anything that startles them and that is not immediately explicable by some normal and expected cause is kanaima, and this is obviously related to their real fear of being startled and to their efforts to avoid startling others.

778 Even this does not exhaust the aspects of kanaima, for it includes true
754 spirit-possession. Kanaima, or a kanaima, may enter the body of a victim and remain there, notably in the chest, causing fever and eventual death unless exorcized.

755 This spirit-possession is essentially related to the duties of the piache in averting the effects of kanaimaton, for medically his most important role is that of exorcist. Fortunately no case occurred during our stay, but the general
[274] procedure was reliably outlined to me by Indian eye-witnesses. The piache makes an infusion of green tobacco in water and snuffs this until he is thoroughly "drunk." He then gives a great leap into the air and disappears. Informants have no idea where he goes, but this is always done inside a house at night with the fires low or extinguished, and one can assume that he somehow climbs in-
[352] to the rafters. After a time he reappears and sits on his bench. This bench,
[532] called murei, is unlike the ordinary bench, aponoi?, being higher and carved into animal form (Fig. 76). He holds in his hands sticks and rolls of leaves and beats time on the ground with these while he sings.[174] Soon the piache is surrounded by a ring of light. My witnesses said that this was not visible to them but only to the piache, who presumably told them that it was there. Then the kanaima appears standing on the chest of his victim and is also visible only to the piache, who asks the kanaima to abandon his prey. The kanaima's reply is told to the sufferer and if it is affirmative recovery follows within two days. If it is negative, the patient inevitably dies.

754 The Kamarakotos believe that kanaimaton have now been fairly well cleared out around Kamarata by the piaches, but that some still invade the
[824] region and that they are still common in the Gran Sabana. The favorite haunts
[361] of kanaimaton, at least around Kamarata, are the forests and this is the

174 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 - Analyst]

754 824 361 principal reason why Kamarakotos are very reluctant to build houses in the forests and hesitant about traversing them, although they do so not infrequently.

352 532 756

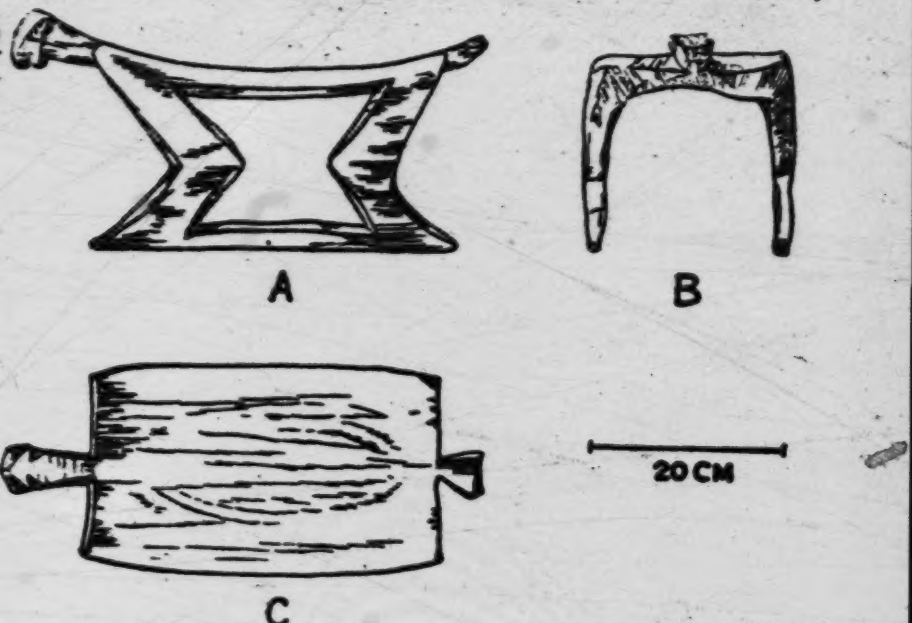

Fig. 76 — Kamarakoto Piache's Bench.
A typical murei, hewn from a single block of wood.

754 Although the kanaimaton play an important role as the theoretical instigators of physical diseases, it is also certain that belief in them produces serious and even mortal illnesses which are wholly psychic in origin. An Indian who is physically perfectly well sometimes believes that he has been attacked by a kanaima, lies down in his hammock, and refuses to rise or to eat, lapsing into a completely listless state, withdrawing into himself, paying no attention to his surroundings, and often developing a fever. If the kanaima is not successfully exorcized, the victim will die of this primarily psychic (but of course quite real) ailment just as surely as if it were primarily physical.

754 797 [illegible] The following is not repeated as a story that I believe, for I find the alleged act of the priest quite incredible, but as one that the Kamarakotos believe and that casts a little further light on this difficult subject. They informed me that a mission priest stationed with a related tribe one day sent an Indian boy alone to an isolated conuco in the forest and then slipped around by another way and hid there. When the boy arrived, the priest shouted without showing himself. This was a mortal attack on the boy with the priest acting as kanaima

224 Typical hunting magic with a
[773] maraka and a song-spell appears in the Legend of Maichak on another page (the episode of the second magic implement, stolen by Maichak from an armadillo). It is reasonable to assume that this represents magic once really used by mortals, but it is merely inherited by the Kamarakotos as part of the story and is not used by them. They do employ two very curious but typical Carib
● [824] magic means of increasing proficiency in hunting. One of these is to insert a cord of twisted moriche fibers into one nostril and to pull it out through the
[304] mouth. The other is to scarify the skin of the arms and then to rub in a crushed
[824] plant, called kumi, which is sometimes especially grown for this purpose. Our hunters ruefully admitted that none of the Kamarakoto hunting magic is really very effective.

General Religious Ideas.

773 Most of the myths, including the several that together make up the story of Maichak as given in this report, abound in unnatural and supernatural events and beings. To this extent, as well as to the extent that they embody explanations of natural phenomena and of creation, they include ideas usually related to religion. It would, however, be misleading to suppose that they form or assume the existence of any coherent or fixed body of religious doctrine. They are simply stories, fairy tales if one wishes, in which the non-natural is taken for granted.

776 There is firm belief in the existence of spirits, mostly inimical, of whom Piaima is typical and is the most important. Piaima and the kanaimaton are still very much in the Indians' minds. Various other spirits are believed to exist but are seldom thought of and few of the Indians can even name any of them.
777 Such simple theology as the tribe may have possessed seems largely to have
[178] broken down and to have been forgotten except as it has a practical bearing on
[782] their lives, which means except as it relates to illness and misfortune. Prayer,
[787] or any form of communication with the supernatural, seems to be unknown except as already suggested for the piaches.

In this rudimentary and probably degenerate system, misfortune is adequately explained by kanaima. Evil and sin do not appear to be considered supernatural or unnatural and there is no evident moral or ethical relationship of religion to their lives, which undoubtedly goes far to explain (or at least is correlated with) their carefree, happy, and, in a sense, sinless lives. They do not have any burden of original sin to bear. Felicity is considered a normal state for which no thanks are due to powers on high. I could not learn that they have any planting or harvest gods or ceremonies, which seems curious in an agricultural people.

775 No clear-cut statement of indigenous doctrine regarding the soul and life after death could be obtained, the usual statement being that "we don't know

157 522 because this would be a head measurement that was really worth-while. A young unmarried man taking a length of cloth for a woman's dress as part of his pay was surrounded by a crowd making robustly insulting remarks accompanied [824] by loud guffaws in which he sheepishly joined. Even a happy surprise that is [384] not essentially humorous, such as unexpectedly encountering a tree full of ripe [302] "caruto" fruits (used for face paint), is an occasion for long laughter.

There are two noteworthy differences from supposedly more civilized humor, and these are decidedly in the Kamarakoto's favor: we saw no case in which a physical injury or indignity was considered funny, and crude practical jokes and the startling or frightening of anyone were expressly avoided and considered quite the opposite of humorous.

Emotional Adjustment.

171 158 In northern Venezuela we observed that most members of the peon class are definitely neurotic.[224] Most of them live oppressed by anxiety, ridden by fear of almost everything around them, and in a state of worry with few and 158 brief remissions. The opposite is true of the Kamarakotos. No neurotic individ- [157] uals or states were observed among them. Anxiety and worry seemed almost unknown, and the whole tribe exhibited a degree of emotional adjustment that 155 could not be matched in any "civilized" community of equal size. It will not be a popular statement, but scientific conscience compels me to add that the almost complete absence of a formulated religion is certainly one element in this remarkably good adjustment, just as the burden of such a religion plays a definite and large role in the neurotic anxiety of the northern peones.[225] Another element, probably the most important, is the security and care enjoyed by the children, as noted below.

152 It is not true that fear is unknown and it is apparently, but not really, contradictory that the Kamarakotos are almost free of anxiety but are often [828] afraid and have even been known to die of fear. They do not seriously fear physical injury: what they fear is fear itself. They detest being startled and often show marked consideration in avoiding giving anyone a start or surprise. Playing peek-a-boo with a baby, so common with us, was never seen and might [254] indeed be considered a serious injury. They fear the kanaima, but in their stories of danger from kanaima the injury is seldom represented as inflicted by physical means but by a noise, or similar thing, that merely startles and frightens [539] the victim. I have noted the curious and revealing fact that in their version of the widespread "stachelsitz" (spiny bench) legend, the bench is not spiny at all and the damage is inflicted by fright and not, as in almost all other known versions of this story, by physical pain.

224, 225 [see footnotes on p. 333, category 116 - Analyst]

825 114 71. At least this is more probable than Azara's guess that it is a corruption of the Guaraní "caaigouaxou," "large forest-dweller."

72. Pittier & Tate omit this species from their Venezuelan check-list. We did not see it, but the Indians describe it unmistakably and it certainly occurs in Venezuela.

825 73. So-called in the Llanos — few Venezuelans seem to use any special name for these animals.

74. Koch-Grünberg gives p elo, apparently another version of "perro," as the Taurepán name of a mythical dog.

[114] 75. Koch-Grünberg is therefore almost surely mistaken in listing it as if it meant a distinct species of peccary and defining it as "a somewhat smaller (than T. albirostris), very bad wild pig."

From the form, meaning, and use of the word, it is possible that it is related to kanaima (No. 249), but this is only a guess and is not definitely probable.

[522] 76. Told me as being a screamingly funny pun, because in Kamarakoto katupara means "machete," which is used to kill chickens — typical Kamarakoto humor.

77. And Schomburgk gives the same word as Arekuna, compare my Kamarakoto informants' karíbana, but this word is definitely not Kamarakoto.

78. The word "caimán" in Venezuela is more often applied to the true American crocodile than to the caiman.

● 824 241 197 114 79. Nordenskiöld (1922) notes the two Carib roots, variants more or less like napi and cha' (or chak), which in Kamarakoto are napwei, a Dioscorea, and (i)cha', Ipomea. He gives both as meaning Ipomea and suggests that when the Caribs first spread over South America they had these two words for the single plant. This seems to me highly unlikely and, indeed it is really disproven by the frequent appearance of both words in one dialect, then always referring to two different plants. When this is true, the napi words always (as far as I have been able reliably to determine) refer to Dioscorea, and I strongly suspect that this is the original, primitive meaning of the root. Whether some Indians really have transferred it to Ipomea or whether this is merely an error of the records, is not clear — probably both are true in different cases. In any event, no historical conclusions can be properly based on such a list as

824 241 197 114 Nordenskiöld gives without more careful checking as to whether the napi-words really are Ipomea in each case and as to whether tribes credited with one word-root only do not really have both, as is already known to be true of many that are given only one in this list.

824 80. This has nothing to do with the plants called "cedar" in English. It is probably a species of Cedrela and belongs to the Meliaciae.

193 81. It is not unlikely that this is generally true of Carib demonstratives and that they could more accurately be called compound personal than demonstrative pronouns.

82. Williams suggests that the -t- after i-, e.g. in itepi and many other words, is the same as this reflexive t-, but I consider this doubtful in Kamarakoto, at least. it- is used (before vowels) in simple substitution for i- (before consonants), with no reflexive sense, and this -t- merely substitutes after i- for the -y- that generally appears in the same circumstances after u- and a-.

192 83. But I am not sure that this word, heard only in this phrase, is not really an adjective, i.e., that the phrase is not "dog alive (is)" instead of "dog lives."

193 [197] 84. It should, however, be noted (1) that Kamarakoto seems to have less root change than Taurepán, e.g. Taurepán umda, "my mouth," to-mə̀da, "their mouths," but Kamarakoto umeta, to^{9}-meta, and (2) that some of the apparent stem changes in his vocabulary are not such but result from his happening to get different words of related meanings, e.g. u-y-enji (j as in English), "my daughter," i:-lumę, "their daughter," but enji and lumę are distinct words of different meaning and not simply changes with the person and number of the possessive pronoun.

[811] 85. I do not believe that a Kamarakoto could grasp the conception of "redness" as an abstraction.

86. endana is a bare verb stem in practice but (as Father Baltasar points out for Taurepán) it is derived from primitive roots by compounding: enda (or euphonic e plus root nda), "mouth" (related to Kamarakoto meta-to, "mouth," see vocabulary No. 19) plus na, a common word-building suffix with a general sense of activity or motion.

193 127 114 87. Unfortunately the more completely published work of Koch-Grünberg was not available to me until I had left the Kamarakotos.

101 101. These particular Arekunas have no tribal name. The Taurepanes, like the Kamarakotos, are also Arekunas but of a more or less definable tribal group within the Arekuna horde.

173 102. According to the legend of an Indian war perhaps 75 to 100 years
161 ago, the tribe was then decimated, but in the following generation or two increased until it was more numerous than now.

551 103. One small boy, with a Spanish name, revealed his Indian name to
114 a member of our party with whom he was on particularly close terms, but he immediately regretted it and denied that he had done so. As I did not myself hear the name I do not record it.

551 104. As a joke, names of members of our expedition were given to
177 several Indians who had not had Spanish names and these were accepted and used by the Indians themselves.

343 105. At a dance we attended, drinkers who had become unconscious
273 were stowed away in the work-house as long as the hammock-supply held out.

342 106. Most of the expedition's thatching was with Mauritia leaves, but
824 the Indians pointed out to me (quite correctly) that they did not bother to make
122 as good houses for us as for themselves. I also suspect that they were conserving the dwindling supply of easily available Oenocarpus leaves for their own use.

241 107. For convenience and in accord with English usage, I shall call the plant and its product casave (or cassava), but properly speaking the plant is "yuca" (which of course has nothing to do with the plant called "yucca" in
[262] North America) and only the prepared root is "casave." The Kamarakotos call the plant koegra, the root kõsẹ, and the prepared bread eke.

[114] 108. This is unusual among related tribes and we were not there in the
[462] planting season, but the Indians unequivocally informed us that planting is man's work.

[173] 109. As may be seen in Koch-Grünberg, the Taurepanes, at least, have
[177] legends which as a whole are pre-Columbian and in which bananas play a role, perhaps as intrusions — but perhaps because they really were known then?

237 110. In passing, I may mention that the Indians often stick the jawbone of an eaten animal into the sticks in the inside of the roof and leave it there.
[211] They maintain that this has no more significance than to remind them of a

237 pleasant event. The small number that accumulate would suggest that the event
211 is very rare indeed, but not all jaws are saved.

411 111. A member of our party easily broke one in discovering this fact.

112. It should be mentioned that these names apply primarily to the point, and only secondarily to the whole arrow.

[114] 113. Koch-Grünberg says that he did not see the supalari among the Taurepanes, but they do have it and the name ("zipõla:li") is given and correctly defined in his vocabulary.

114. Farabee says that these teeth are not sights but indicate the side to be held up. With the Kamarakoto blowgun, at least, it makes no difference which side is held up.

411 115. This is the same juice that the Indians put in their stews and is not
228 poisonous per se. The Indians believe that it adds to the efficacy of the curare, but I do not know whether this is really true. The curare is certainly quite effective without it.

411 116. At least among the Kamarakotos the almost universal statement
239 that this fish jaw is carried for the purpose of sharpening the darts is untrue.
412 Indeed sharpening a prepared dart would remove some or all of the poison and render the dart ineffectual. They must be sharpened before poisoning and before placing in the quiver so that the carrying of a jaw with the quiver cannot be for this purpose.

23/ 117. Koch-Grünberg mentions how abundant dogs are among the
171 Maquiritares and that they are assertive and mean-tempered and good hunting dogs, which agrees with their fame among the Kamarakotos and emphasizes their distinction from the Kamarakotos' own dogs.

227 118. The only specimen with which the Indians could be persuaded to part was made in the Gran Sabana, but it is identical with those of Kamarakoto manufacture.

226 119. Koch-Grünberg identifies the ing' of the Taurepanes as Lonchocarpus
824 densiflorus, but the Kamarakoto ing' can hardly be that species if Pittier's description of it is correct. It is more likely that aya, which Koch-Grünberg
[114] identifies as Clibadium, is Lonchocarpus. The classification or identification of the various fish poisons appears to be in a chaotic condition and research on

226 824 114 them would be useful and interesting. Even Roth's excellent summary leaves innumerable doubtful points.

226 271 120. The supposed danger from poisoned water in this part of South America is thus a figment of the imagination, even more absurd than the danger of attack with blowguns.

252 263 121. It is almost universally stated that this juice is a deadly poison and that the purpose of squeezing it out is to remove the poison from the grated casave. These statements are misleading. The poison would surely lose its force when the flour was cooked in any case so the pressing is not to remove the poison but merely to obtain a drier flour from which bread can be made. The "deadly poisonous" juice is consumed in enormous amounts by the Indians with no ill effects and is their favorite and most common condiment, rivaled only by peppers. It is always boiled down first, however, and this doubtless destroys any poisonous qualities, whatever they may be.

263 177 122. One or two of the more sophisticated Indians who have seen the crude Venezuelan sugar-loaves, papelón, have attempted to imitate them, but this sporadic effort has, as yet, no significance.

177 401 407 123. An amusing instance is provided by a Taurepán who attempted to devise an imitation of the roll-mill introduced by the missionaries at Santa Elena. He showed us his "invention" with glowing pride, but ruefully confessed that it would not work, as could have been told beforehand by anyone who had grasped the mechanical principles involved.

276 123 124 124. During our stay native habits were disrupted in this respect by the fact that a large stock of cigarettes was used for presents and wages, but I have the impression that smoking, however extensive, is not very intensive, that no one smokes constantly or to excess.

412 125. Which axes, however, may have been used more for such purposes as digging than for cutting.

323 531 415 126. When I asked whether pots are ever painted, it was patiently explained that to do so would be ridiculous since the design would be hidden by soot the first time the pot was used. Pots are used only for cooking, calabashes and baskets being used for all the other purposes for which some Indians use pottery.

301 135. Although the Kamarakotos may have made shell beads, as some Caribs are known to have done. Probably, however, the Kamarakotos had no [177] suitable materials for these. In any case, seeds were also used and native beads, if they were known, have been completely replaced by the far better and sufficiently abundant foreign beads.

[184] 136. The only exception was a woman who had European earrings but she was married to one of the two men who have lived in Venezuelan towns and her wearing them was obviously not native.

304 184 302 137. I am sure that this statement is true in general, but in individual cases it was occasionally impossible to be sure whether a design was painted or tattooed.

000 138. We were interested to observe that some lower-class women in civilized Venezuela, with much Indian blood and definite Indian inheritance in their culture, apply rouge on the face exactly as the wild Indians apply red paint — in large splotches meant to look painted and artificial, and would not think of shading it so as to imitate a naturally bright complexion.

28 114 139. I do not mean that the textile work of Venezuelan Indians is unknown or has not been mentioned in various excellent studies, but that almost no careful description of its details, nomenclature, etc., have been published. Even Koch-Grünberg's voluminous studies only describe the various textile manufactures in a summary way, with practically no details as to types of weave, etc.

285 824 140. Speaking of traps woven from this material by the Adole Indians on the Orinoco, Roth says that they are made "from a kind of osier twig, which is ..... called bejuco," but "bejuco," of course, means only "vine" (of any sort, and, incidentally, does not include osiers).

000 141. The Carib word manare has also been taken over into colloquial Venezuelan, with the usual shift in accent, but is applied to the cassave sieve, which is made of manare but is not "a" manare in Carib. This is a common etymological phenomenon; compare, in a reverse direction, the adoption of the Spanish word "camisa" not for a shirt but for cotton cloth by some Caribs (not the Kamarakotos).

171 283 286 352 142. In view of this differentiation it is interesting that in civilized Venezuela the handmade hammock, "chinchorro," of the common people is made of bast-thread while the sometimes more aristocratic "hamaca," usually factory-made, is of cotton.

*285 171 by coiling of the best sort, and no true coiling occurs in this area. The skill involved in a fine Carib pictorial twill and its esthetic values appear to me to be as great as in the famous coiled ware of some more northern Indians, but it can hardly be expected to have the peculiar qualities of coiling.

*285 482 114 157. This term has been preferred by various English writers and is correctly descriptive as to function but seems to me to be misleading as to form, since there is nothing sack-like about these carriers.

*285 411 283 158. A specimen possibly Arekuna but surely not Kamarakoto has a rawhide thong — an almost unique example of the use of rawhide rather than plant fibers for such purposes.

*285 227 [[71]] [226] 159. Roth calls these "creels" and apparently they are used in British Guiana for carrying fish, however caught. Kamarakotos use them only as traps and carry fish in any carrying (true) basket. If the fish are so lively that they will not stay in an ordinary basket, they are killed — in the case of small fish, by biting their heads.

*285 192 194 160. I did not myself hear this pronunciation from a native, but was told that it is "correct."

*285 531 161. Some Indians are said now to paint similar designs on baskets after they are woven but this (technically degenerate) process is not used by the Kamarakotos.

532 177 162. It is worth recording that in one case several Christian crosses, a non-native element in design, had been scratched on a house, and that in another an exceedingly crude but recognizable figure of a man on a horse was seen, something even more exotic than a cross in Kamarata where no horse has ever set foot. Even these few rough attempts at graphic art have evidently been made under non-Indian influence and by one of the more sophisticated members of the group.

534 ● 824 163. Both Roth and von Hornbostel give evidently cognate words as applying to a transverse bamboo flute, but the Kamarakoto kaikara is certainly a reed flageolet.

534 114 164. I am not certain that a simple sort of reed instrument has not been devised, but I saw none and the evidence is very doubtful. If so, it is doubtless an innovation under foreign influence.

[539] [584] [583] marriage and the extravagant labors involved are obviously an exaggerated form of wife-purchase by personal service.

[825] 203. An "ancoreta," oimi in Kamarakoto.

[805] 204. Here and in many other places the expression of time in hours is from Antonio's Spanish and is his expression of equivalent but, of course, differently and more vaguely expressed times in the Indian version, as the Indians do not use the hour as a unit of time.

205. Another parenthetical comment with no actual bearing on the story at this point.

[342] 206. The difficulty is that the first step in building a house is to sink the uprights into the ground and this cannot be done in rock.

[342] 207. The specification of four posts seems to imply that a quadrangular shelter is intended.

[352] 208. murei. It is odd that the difficulty in the ensuing work is not the material, stone (never really used for benches), but the pattern. The stone-work of the termite is no more eccentric than the earlier stone-boring of a worm, but in the earlier case it was the stone that caused the difficulty.

[825] 209. muna^{9}.

[825] 210. A kurĩnata.

[825] 211. An enwara^{9}, a spiny rock-lizard. Not as part of this story but as another legend, I was told that enwara^{9} (then the personal name of this particular lizard and now the term for all lizards of this species) was turned into stone at the time of the earthquake (below) and this stone gives its name to Enwarapaimá-tepúi, south of Kamarata.

[824] 212. A "ceibo," asarɛ-yɛ^{9}. The fall of this tree is another apparently wholly irrelevant detail, as is Maichak's refusal to jump.

213. pangai^{9}. These are not normally used for fishing.

214. This was offered as an aside. The etymology is not worthy of serious consideration.

539 215. Her name and relationship are unknown. The various narrators agreed that Maichak had no wife at this time, having killed his human wife and abandoned his buzzard wife.

101 539 216. Each of these represents a tribe and the list is given as a roll call of tribes formerly neighbors of the Kamarakotos. Except for Kamarakoto, none of these tribes now exists as such and the names have not been identified. [648] Regarding the Mwerwan (or Mueruán), the Kamarakotos tell of former long and peaceful association with them and of their final decimation and extinction at the time of the great Indian war.

539 [825] 217. A "guardacamino," tabaru in Kamarakoto.

[824] 218. "Tirita," manare.

[825] 219. The great anteater, warem.

[285] 220. The fact that he forthwith makes an akai?, which is definitely more complex basketwork than the press and sieve that he could not make, is one of the inconsistencies that abound in such legends and cannot be held to alter their general trend. The same is true of the fact that in this part of the story the other characters are assumed to know arts that Maichak is later shown teaching them. In part these inconsistencies can also be held to show that the various episodes were originally separate stories and that the general plot here sketched is a later integration.

221. What branch of the Arekunas is not said, except that the narrator was not Taurepán.

[103] 222. Here represented as Auyán-tepúi or a similar mountain — obviously each tribe inserts local details in all these widespread legends. It was considered generally amusing that Maichak and the party that landed on top by plane and walked off are the only persons who have climbed down Auyán-tepúi [823] without climbing up it. Incidentally the Indians never climbed this mountain until shown the way very recently by white explorers and so it figures as being negotiated only by supernatural aid.

171 266 223. That the Caribs, or some of them, were cannibals is a disputed question, as I am well aware. Apparently authoritative statements vary all the way from one that the only instance of cannibalism among these tribes was a case of white men eating Indians to one that all Caribs used human flesh as part of the usual diet. It seems, however, that the judicious reader can hardly

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Pemon SS16
Makiritare SS20

perhaps for a trip of several days, to look for it. These excursions have a festive air: the Indians hunt, fish and swim, and shoot the rapids with gleeful yells—to come home with their canoes loaded high with these soft palm fronds. Within a radius of several kilometres, all the trees will have been stripped.

Smaller communities of Makiritari, without the means or the enthusiasm to build the 'big hut', will content themselves with a rectangular structure. This has a single-span roof sloping down from the back to the front, with rough walls of stakes driven into the ground and bound with lianas. The roof will still consist of San Paulo leaves, but these are less intricately woven than in the case of the 'big hut', being made on the ground like a hurdle and then hoisted into place and firmly secured.

The Pemontòn, on the other hand, have adopted an entirely different pattern of hut, for temporary purposes or for housing a small number only. Taller and less graceful than the Makiritari type, it is roofed most ingeniously with alternating layers of poles of gradually decreasing lengths set upon each other so as to form a pyramid. This is finished off with whole fronds of *seje* or *maripa* palm—fair sized trees found in profusion near all the rivers of the Amazon-Guiana region.

The Shirians—the real Shirians, that is to say the Samatari and the Guayca—build nothing at all. Those of them who do adapt themselves to the humiliating labour of house-building are just keeping up with their neighbours, the Makiritari. The forest bristles with so many trees, big and little, and all so straight that they might have been placed there on purpose; going up and down them is a grand game and one that always provides something to eat: a grub, a wasps' nest with honey in it, fruit. . . . So why shut oneself off from it all, away from this forest that provides food? One should clearly do the opposite. Why build huts from dead trees, when one can use the live ones? All it needs is two crossed Y-shaped boughs propped against a trunk so as to make a triangle, and there is a place to sling one's hammock!

Sometimes, in the forest, the traveller comes across an abandoned Shirian camp: just some heaps of ashes and a goodly number of these triangular 'bedsteads'—a true forest within a forest. The rotting hammocks are still hanging where they were put.

We couldn't quite accept any of these indigenous architectural patterns for our own purposes, however, since we felt ourselves to be the heirs of a nobler tradition. We had to find our own answer to the problem. We opted for a big